

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE MONOGRAPHS

ON

QUAKER HISTORY

Published under the Auspices of the
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Number Ten The History of Quakerism in Holland A Bibliog-
raphy

EIGHT FIRST BIOGRAPHIES OF WILLIAM PENN

IN SEVEN LANGUAGES AND SEVEN LANDS

BY

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SWARTHMORE COLLEGE MONOGRAPHS
ON QUAKER HISTORY

Number Three

1936

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To
My Friend and former Student in
Swarthmore College
DR. ALBERT COOK MYERS

An eminent Pennsylvania Historian
Whose unrivalled Collection of Materials
Relating to the Life and Writings of

William Penn

Would be amazing to William Penn himself

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PREFACE

It is always hazardous to call anything the first of its kind, hence discretion demands that the author of such a statement should take refuge in the modest reservation, "to the best of my knowledge and belief." The author of this book must beg to avail himself of this safeguard. Diligent search and research, and correspondence over land and sea, he is able to plead as a palliative of a possible failure to have found really the *first* biography of Penn in one or other of the seven languages and seven lands, and with his readers, he may sincerely hope that still earlier lives of Penn in at least one of the languages will be found to prove that the adjective he has used is wrong.

The reasons for adding this book to the large number which have already been written on Penn will appear, it is hoped, from the book itself. The biographical material that has been used in preparing it is now relatively inaccessible, either because most of it is in languages other than English, or because it is still in manuscript or out of print. Very few libraries possess a copy of any one of the "first" biographies, and no library in America or elsewhere possesses them all. The search for one of them, namely, the German biography by Wilhelm Abraham Teller (Berlin, 1779), proved to be an exceptionally arduous and unsuccessful task, and the author desires to express his particularly grateful thanks for participation in it to Professor Albert B. Faust, of Cornell University—an exchange professor in Germany and Austria—and our eminent American historian, Ambassador William E. Dodd.

It may be further noted that the view of a great man by his contemporaries or near-contemporaries enables later generations both to appreciate more truly the good things in his character and achievements and to guard against the idealization, or even the idolization and hero-worship, which so often de-humanizes him. To compare, also, the conception of Penn in the minds of people in various lands, and to note those parts of his career which authors in various languages have selected for special emphasis, should aid in forming a well-balanced, all-round view of his personality and historic rôle.

It is hoped that this book will serve these purposes, and that a better understanding of the great Quaker leader will provide some further basis for understanding the part which the Quakers themselves have played, however modestly, in the history, literature and art of various lands. The fact that Quakerism has made quite a distinct impression not only in the English-speaking world, but also in Holland, Germany and France, and to a less degree in Italy and among the Spanish-speaking peoples, is due largely to the personality and career of William Penn. It is due largely, also, to the biographers who have taken the pains to study his career and portray it in their pages for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen.

Unfortunately, there is extant no complete autobiography of Penn. Some "Fragments" of "An Apology" written by him are preserved in

the original manuscripts in the library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. These were written when Penn was in retirement because of charges of Jacobitism against him in the early 1690's. His spirit was doubtless too much perturbed at this time to find the autobiographical task a congenial one, besides, he was busy in giving expression in his "Fruits of Solitude" to his philosophy of human life in general. The last six years of his life would have been ideal for the writing of an account of the external events of his life, but, alas, he was incapacitated during that period by paralysis.

The "Fragments" were published in the *Memoirs* of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in 1836 (Volume III, Part 2, pp 235-243), and begin as follows: "Being by an act of State and the necessity of the times, as well as my own and others circumstances—all Intreatys and applications for a quiet living with my family here or in America, under any security that reasonably can be asked being rejected—I have taken in hand to pen and publish *An Apology for Myself*—and because plain Fact is the best Defence an Honourable Man can at any Time make for himselfe, I have chosen to give the World *Some Account of My Life*, especially the last Part of it since '84, being that which has fallen most under Censure and Exception, in which I hope to govern myself by God's Assistance in that manner as to give no offence to Jew or Gentile, and least of all to the Government."

He then proceeds to give an account of his return from America, October, 1684, and of his visits to the court immediately afterwards for the purpose of obtaining pardons for individual Quakers. Returning, next, to the year 1668, he states briefly his first experience of going to court in that year on behalf of toleration for the Quakers. His second visit was made in the summer of 1668, and with this visit, he associates a brief account of his recent imprisonment in the Tower. The account of his third visit to the court, which was made in 1673 for the purpose of procuring the release of George Fox from imprisonment in Worcester Castle, brings us to the end of the "Fragments."

The committee of the Pennsylvania Historical Society which published these fragments expressed the hope that Penn's grandson, Granville Penn, who had recently published his "Memorials of Sir William Penn", would find among the family papers a complete autobiography of his illustrious grandfather. But no such treasure has as yet come to light, and biographies must continue to be our resource.

Full-length biographies of William Penn in England did not begin until Thomas Clarkson, a non-Quaker, wrote one in two volumes and published it in London in 1813. Since that time, numerous others have appeared, but they have all, including Clarkson's, been based upon Joseph Besse's biographical sketch of 1726, which was largely autobiographical. Even when Penn's "Works" were re-edited in 1771, 1782, etc., Besse's biography was followed almost *verbatim*.

In America, another non-Quaker, Mason L. Weems, wrote the first biography, in 1822, a Philadelphia Friend, Enoch Lewis, wrote a very different one in 1841,¹ two more non-Quaker ones followed, one by

¹Published in the *Friends' Library*, Philadelphia, 1841, Vol V, pp 24-328 (4to, double columns, small print).

George E Ellis, in 1847,² and one issued anonymously in 1848.³ It was not until three years after this, that an American Friend, Samuel M Janney, published a classic biography. Numerous other sketches of Penn have since been published in America, and it is hoped that a Philadelphia Quaker scholar, Dr. Albert Cook Myers, will succeed in collecting the complete writings of Penn and all the important facts concerning him, upon which a definitive biography may be based.⁴

Even before the first Life of Penn appeared in English, Willem Sewel, the Dutch Quaker historian of the Society of Friends, included in his "ponderous tome" and in his extant letters and other writings so much material relating directly and indirectly to Penn as to constitute an excellent biographical sketch of his great contemporary and intimate friend.⁵ A century after Sewel's time, a full-length Dutch biography of Penn, that of Herman van Lil (1820), appeared and has been given a place in this book.

Holland, also contributed the first (and only) Latin biography of Penn, written by Gerard Croese, who, like Sewel, included his sketches in a general history of the Quakers.⁶

In Germany, most of even the latest encyclopaedias like Meyers and Brockhaus, have very brief sketches of Penn⁷ with no references to sources in German except to the German translation of Hepworth Dixon's Life of Penn, 1854.⁸ On special anniversary occasions, dissertations have been written or addresses made on Penn by Germans in Germany or America. For example, when the two hundredth anniversary of Penn's arrival in Pennsylvania was celebrated, in 1882, there was published at Reading, Pennsylvania, a sketch of Penn's Life and Works ("*Leben und Wirken*")⁹ Its author was W J Mann, a pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran (Zion's) Church and professor in the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. No new contribution to Penn's Life is made by it, even in regard to his journeys in Germany in 1671 and 1677. Of the former journey, the author merely says (after quoting Penn's own brief reference to it) "We know nothing about it. Perhaps because its direct results were not sufficiently significant to be preserved in history." Again, when Professor Wolff Krahmer was inducted into the philosophical faculty of the University of Frankfurt-am-Main in 1928, he gave his inaugural address on "William Penn as

² Published in Jared Sparks's Library of American Biography, 2nd series, Vol XII, pp 193-408, Boston, 1847 [In the same volume with a life of Commodore Edward Preble!]

³ Published in the Young American's Library, Boston, 1848 and 1866

⁴ Meanwhile, and without having had access to Dr Myers's collection, the author of this book has published "A Topical Biography of William Penn", The Oxford University Press, New York and London

⁵ Cf Monograph Number One ("Willem Sewel of Amsterdam"), *passim*

⁶ *Ibid*, pp 115-144

⁷ For example, Meyers, 1896 has one page, and 1928 one-half column, Brockhaus, 1933, has a half-column

⁸ The third English edition of Dixon, translated by G von Bunsen, "Wilhelm Penn und die Zustände Englands, 1644-1718," Leipzig, 1854

⁹ 153 pages, 8vo

Colonizer of Pennsylvania, particularly his Policy towards the Indians."¹⁰ This was an appreciative discourse of about ninety printed pages, but it gives no new facts or interpretations, and no references to German sources.

The clue to the first full-length biography of Penn in German is found in a sermon preached on the death of Wilhelm Abraham Teller in 1805 by Jakob Elias Troschel, and in the "Allgemeine Encyclopädie" of J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber.¹¹ The latter contains an article on Penn, of about twenty-eight pages, octavo, by G. M. S. Fischer, and it refers among other works to the German translation of Jean Marsillac's French biography of Penn,¹² and to the very rare and long-sought first biography in German, namely, that of Wilhelm Abraham Teller (Berlin, 1779)¹³

Teller's biography of Penn in German may have inspired the German translation of the first one in French, that of Jean Marsillac (1791). A century earlier than Marsillac, Pierre Bayle had published the first edition of his great French encyclopaedia,¹⁴ which continued to be re-issued in successive editions and translations during the three-quarters of a century preceding the French Revolution. In his earlier editions, Bayle makes no mention of Penn, or even of Pennsylvania, or the Quakers!¹⁵ But in Jacques-George Chauffepié's continuation of Bayle's encyclopaedia,¹⁶ amends are made to Penn and his co-religionists.¹⁷

In the later French encyclopaedias and biographical dictionaries, such as three editions of Pierre Larousse,¹⁸ La Grande Encyclopédie (with 31 volumes), the Nouvelle Biographie Générale (Vol 39, 1865), and Michaud's Biographie Universelle, there are very brief sketches of Penn, ranging from a single paragraph to four pages.¹⁹ When references to sources are given in these, they include such books as those of Clarkson, Dixon and Stoughton; Marsillac's "Penn" is referred to in one of them; and Philareté Chasles, the author of multitudinous works written between 1825 and 1879, is referred to in another.²⁰

The full-length biography of Penn by Jean Marsillac, published in Paris in 1791, is the earliest one in French, and hence takes its place

¹⁰ Frankfurt-am-Main, 1928, pp 7-96

¹¹ Leipzig, 1842, Series III, Vol 16, pp 15-28 *Infra*, pp 68 f

¹² Translated into German by Johann Christoph Friedrich (1775-1836), Strasbourg (Friedrich Spach), 1793, 8vo, 324 pages

¹³ *Supra*, p XIII and *infra*, pp 67-70

¹⁴ „Nouveau dictionnaire historique et critique", Rotterdam, 1692, English translation, London, 10 Vols, 1734-41

¹⁵ Articles on Quakers, Kouacres, Trembleurs, Amis, etc, are lacking

¹⁶ Amsterdam, 1750-56, 4 Vols, folio

¹⁷ Volume with articles on Penn and the Quakers, 1753

¹⁸ Paris, 1878 to 1932

¹⁹ This last article was by J Chanut in the „Nouvelle Biographie Générale", Vol 39 (Paris, 1865), pp 526-530

²⁰ This reference is in Larousse, „Grand Dictionnaire Universel", Paris, 1878, 17 Vols (Vol 12, p 552, has two columns in fine print on Penn) The book of Chasles especially in the mind of the encyclopaedist was probably the „Révolution de l'Angleterre", Paris, 1844

in this book Two of his successors, as biographers of Penn, were Louis Vullheym (Paris, 1855) and Mme. Cécile Vincens (Paris, 1877), both of whom are also cited herein

Through the good offices of such centers of Spanish lore as the Hispanic Society in New York City and the Spanish Department of Columbia University, as well as in Spain itself, search has been made for a Spanish biography of Penn written on Spanish soil, either in earlier or later years, but without success The splendid new "Enciclopedia Universal Illustrada", published in Barcelona in 70 royal folio volumes, devotes two columns, small print, to Penn,²¹ but its references to sources, while including Besse and Marsillac and modern biographers like Clarkson, Janney, Dixon and others down to 1907, has no reference to a Spanish author The last of its eight supplementary volumes published in 1933 includes nothing more on Penn, and Volume III (1931) has nothing more on the *Cuákeros*

It is greatly to be hoped that a full length biography of Penn written in old Spain in the Castilian tongue will yet be discovered Meanwhile, a biography in Spanish comes to us from one of Spain's American daughters, Mexico.

Italy, like Spain, has failed as yet—so far as diligent search has revealed—to produce a biography of Penn, while none of its colonists, or even of its citizens domiciled or naturalized in Pennsylvania, has as yet produced one Its various encyclopaedias, like the "Grande Enciclopedia Popolare Sonzogno",²² Garollo's, "Dizionario Biografico Universale",²³ the "Enciclopedia Pomba",²⁴ and the "Piccola Enciclopedia Hoepli",²⁵ have very brief mention of Penn and either no references to sources at all, or only to Marsillac and the familiar English biographers The magnificent "Enciclopedia Italiana", with its comprehensive articles and many references to sources, has been brought down (by 1935) through Volume XXVI, which includes an article of two columns on Penn, and Volume XXVIII, which includes an article of two columns on the *Quaccheri*²⁶ The best that can be done for the purposes of this book is to take the longest and apparently the earliest extant Italian sketch of Penn, which appeared in Gerolamo Boccardo's "Nuova Enciclopedia Italiana", published in 1884²⁷

The illustrations in this book are not those which adorn the books under review, with the exception of the Spanish and Italian ones Title-pages alone adorn the English, American, Dutch, Latin and French lives of Penn, but the Spanish life has nine pictures, five of which were borrowed from an earlier American book, and the Italian sketch

²¹ Vol 43, pp 342-3, without date, but after 1914

²² Vol 14, pp 777-8 (one-half of one column)

²³ Milan, 1907, Vol 2, p 1517 (one paragraph)

²⁴ Turin, 1926, Vol 2, p 511 (one-third of one column)

²⁵ Milan, 2nd ed, 1917-27, Vol 3, p 3437 (eight lines)

²⁶ Milan and Rome, Vols 1-28, 1929-1932 The article on Penn is by Florence M G Higham, of London, and refers only to Janney (1852), Brailsford (1931), Dobrée (1932), and Vulhamy (1933), with no reference to Italian sources

²⁷ Vol 16, pp 1230-31

has a reproduction of Inman's portrait of Penn and a picture of an alleged Quaker Meeting-house in Philadelphia. It is not a greater artistic appreciation on the part of the Spaniards and Italians alone which accounts for these illustrations, but rather the fact that their accounts of Penn were published in 1879 and 1884, respectively, a generation after illustrated biographies of Penn had been published in America, and from a century to a century and a half after the earliest lives of Penn had appeared elsewhere

The illustrations were selected because of their relation to the facts in Penn's life which each of them makes prominent. It is due to the skill and patience of a gifted Philadelphia photographer, Mr Philip B. Wallace, that the pictures of long-past generations as well as those of recent ones have come out so clearly. It is hoped that they may serve to reenforce our conception of the mental pictures of Penn and his life which have come down through the generations since his death, as well as add to our own.

WILLIAM I HULL

Swarthmore College,
June 18, 1936

EIGHT FIRST BIOGRAPHIES OF WILLIAM PENN
IN SEVEN LANGUAGES AND SEVEN LANDS

Eight First Biographies of William Penn

CHAPTER I

PENN'S FIRST ENGLISH BIOGRAPHY

The first, most detailed English biography of William Penn was published in London in 1726, eight years after his death. It was largely autobiographical, since it was compiled chiefly from his own writings. It filled the first 238 folio pages (out of 1827) of the first collection of his "Works". This book was published by "the Assigns of J. Sowle, at the Bible in George-Yard, Lombard Street", London. Its title reads: "A Collection of the Works of William Penn. In Two Volumes To Which is Prefixed A Journal of His Life. With many Original Letters and Papers not Before Published."

Its editor was Joseph Besse, a well-known Quaker historian, whose most famous book is "A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers" (London, 1753), commonly called "Besse's Sufferings." He was the editor also of the writings of other Quaker worthies, among them Richard Claridge, George Whitehead, Isaac Pennington and Samuel Bownas; and he wrote a number of controversial pamphlets. Born about 1683 in Essex, and closely associated from his early manhood with Friends in London, he was thirty-five years of age when Penn died, and must have often seen and heard the great Quaker leader.²⁸

Besse's preface to Penn's "Works", addressed "To the Reader", begins with a concise characterization of Penn, which quaintly concludes "In fine, he was Learn'd without Vanity, Apt without Forwardness, Facetious in Conversation, yet weighty and Serious; of an Extraordinary Greatness of Mind, yet void of the Stain of Ambition." These last words were taken from the testimony to Penn issued by

²⁸ Indeed, Besse himself may have been the "intimate Friend" or the "other Friend" whose accounts of Penn's declining health from 1712 to 1718 he quotes in loving detail on the last page of his "Life"

the Berkshire (England) Monthly Meeting of Friends, a few months after his decease. It may have been written for the meeting by Joseph Besse himself, who might well have added to his preface the words immediately following, namely: "as free from rigid gravity as he was clear of unseemly levity; a man—a scholar—a friend; whose memorial will be valued by the wise, and blessed with the just."

Penn's "Works" are divided by Besse into five classes as follows: Epistolary, Doctrinal, Polemical, Historical, and Political. This first collection is also the fullest thus far published; but Albert Cook Myers of Philadelphia, who is making a complete collection of Penn's writings, says that it "contains but twenty per cent,—31 out of the 157 books, treatises, addresses, etc., written by Penn and published in his lifetime. A large proportion of the other eighty per cent of the individual printed works of Penn, or the 126 pieces not gathered into the collected first edition, are very rare and accessible in only a few special libraries."

Most of Penn's letters in this edition, Besse says, "are now first published from Copies himself deliver'd to a particular Friend." These number about 65,²⁹ while Samuel M. Janney's "Life of Penn" (1852) contains in whole or in part about 140, and still the half has not yet been told.

The American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia possesses a manuscript written by Penn's own hand and entitled "Some Account of my Life, especially since '84, being that which has fallen most under Censure and Exception."³⁰ It was published in the *Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society*, in 1826,³¹ and was used by Samuel M. Janney in his *Life of Penn*. It is very fragmentary, consisting chiefly of an explanation of its author's relations with the court of Charles II between 1668 and 1673. Penn probably planned to bring the narrative down through the troubled years of

²⁹ Of these, 43 are personal, and 22 are of a public character, a half-dozen more are letters written to Penn.

³⁰ See Frontispiece and *infra*, pp. XIII f.

³¹ Vol. III, Part II, pages 235-242. *The Friend* (Philadelphia), for May and July, 1833 (Vol. VI, pp. 242, 251, 309, 333), published what are apparently these same fragments, they are introduced by R. V. [Richard Vaux ?] who states that they were then in his possession.

James II and William III; but he got no farther than his effort to procure the release of George Fox from imprisonment in Worcester Castle in 1673³²

Of the 238 pages of Besse's *Life of Penn*, only about fifty are devoted to the narrative, the rest being taken up with Penn's letters and other writings. Necessarily, therefore, most of the incidents in it are very briefly treated. For example, his birth, parentage and education down to his twenty-first year fill one page; his becoming a Friend and a minister, a half-page, his imprisonment in Cork, Ireland, one page, and in London Tower, a half-page. On the other hand, twenty-eight pages are devoted to his and William Mead's trial at the Old Baily, and eight to his imprisonment in Newgate. One paragraph suffices for his marriage to Gulielma Springett in 1672 and his home at Rickmansworth; while seven pages (plus twenty pages in the Appendices) tell of his religious controversies from 1671 to 1677. The sufferings of the Friends in England under Charles II were already (by 1726) engaging much of Besse's time and research, and he devotes a dozen pages to three years' record of them.

Penn's travels in Holland and Germany were the subject of a separate book by Penn himself, extending to 240 pages, duodecimo; and so highly esteemed was it by the early Friends that Besse prints it *in toto* on 68 of his folio pages (plus 45 in the Appendices). Only about one-fourth of these, however, are narrative, the other three-fourths giving Penn's letters and other writings connected with his travels.

New Jersey and Pennsylvania had made relatively large progress by 1726, but Besse tells the story of their founding in only four pages, including in these the story of 1681-82, Penn's two visits to Pennsylvania in 1682-84 and 1699-1701, his Constitution and Frame of Government, a letter to the Indians, his address to the Assembly in 1701 and its reply!

Although Penn's first biographer gives no details of his "Treaty with the Indians", of which later biographers and

³² These autobiographical fragments are endorsed "Something begun tow^{as} a History of my Life from 84", and on the same page (109) below "begin of my history". At the end of the fragments, on page 117, is the endorsement "acc^t of my Life &c since convincement relating to outward affairs". The fragments are bound in the "Penn Papers", Class 974 8 No P 365, volume I, pages 106-117.

historians and the Quaker artist, Benjamin West, made so much, he does devote one page to his dealings with them. This page, which includes Penn's own letter, was the foundation of the later eulogies; it reads as follows:³³

“And to secure the New Planters from the *Native Indians* (who in some other Provinces being injuriously dealt with, had made reprisals to the loss of many Lives) the *Governour* gave Orders to treat them with all Candour and Humanity; and appointed Commissioners to confer with them about Land, and to confirm a League of Peace; by whom he also sent them the following Letter.

W.P.'s Letter to the Indians.
London, the 18th of the 8th Month, 1681.

‘My Friends,

There is a Great God and Power that hath made the World and all Things therein, to whom you and I and all People owe their Being and Well-being; and to whom you and I must one Day give an Account for all that we do in the World; This Great God hath written his Law in our Hearts, by which we are taught and Commanded to love and help, and do good to one another, and not to do Harm and Mischief one unto another: Now this Great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your Part of the World, and the King of the Country where I live hath given me a great Province therein, but I desire to enjoy it with your Love and Consent, that we may always live together as Neighbours and Friends; Else what would the Great God do to us? who hath made us not to devour and destroy one another, but to live soberly and kindly together in the World Now I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the Unkindness and Injustice that hath been too much exercised towards you by the People of these Parts of the World, who have sought themselves, and to make great Advantages by you, rather than to be Examples of Justice and Goodness unto you, which I hear hath been Matter of trouble to you, and caused great Grudgings and Animosities, sometimes to the shedding of Blood, which hath made the Great God angry. But I am not

³³ “Works”, 1726, Vol I, p 121

such a Man, as is well known in my own Country : I have great Love and Regard towards you, and I desire to win and gain your Love and Friendship by a kind, Just and Peaceable Life, and the People I send are of the same Mind, and shall in all Things behave themselves accordingly, and if in any Thing any shall offend you or your People, you shall have a full and speedy Satisfaction for the same by an equal Number of Just Men on both Sides, that by no means you may have just Occasion of being offended against them I shall shortly come to you my self, at what Time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these Matters, in the mean Time I have sent my Commissioners to treat with you about Land and a firm League of Peace: Let me desire you to be kind to them and the People, and receive these Presents and Tokens which I have sent you, as a Testimony of my good Will to you, and my Resolution to live justly peaceably and Friendly with you.

I am your Loving Friend

W. Penn.'

"His Friendly and pacifick Manner of treating the *Indians*," Besse continues, "begat in them an Extraordinary Love and Regard to him, and his People, so that they have maintained a perfect Amity with the *English* of *Pensylvania* ever since. And 'tis observable, that upon renewing the Treaty with the present *Governour* Sir *William Keith*, Bar. in 1722, they mention the Name of *William Penn* with much Gratitude and Affection, calling him,³⁴ *A good Man*, and as their highest Complement to Sir *William* use this Expression,³⁵ *We esteem and Love you as if you were WILLIAM PENN himself*. So universally doth a *Principle* of Peace, Justice and Morality operate on the Hearts even of those we call *Heathens*."

The sad years in England between 1684 and 1699, during most of which he championed religious toleration under James II and was accused of Jesuitism and treason in consequence, and when he rested under a cloud of suspicion and went into retirement under William III, consume a score of pages; while the death of his first wife and eldest son and

³⁴ The Historical Register for the Year 1723, Numb XXX p 107

³⁵ *Ibid*, p 108

his marriage with Hannah Callowhill are recorded in only sixteen lines, although four pages in the Appendix give Penn's own account of the death and character of his wife and son

The last years from 1701 to 1718, when he lost and recovered his Province, was imprisoned for debt in the Fleet, and endured a half-dozen years of invalidism ending in his death and burial at Jordans, fill only three pages, half of which are shared with two of his writings.

The three most famous of Penn's writings, namely, "No Cross, No Crown" (1669 and 1682), "An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe" (1693), and "Some Fruits of Solitude" (1693 and 1702), receive very summary treatment by his first biographer, although the first and third are published in his "Works".

"No Cross, No Crown", which John William Graham esteemed Penn's greatest work, and Samuel M. Janney said was "frequently republished, extensively read and universally approved",³⁶ Besse briefly notices as follows. "A Spirit warmed with the Love of God, and devoted to His service, ever pursues its main Purpose Our Author, restrain'd from Preaching [by imprisonment in London Tower], apply'd himself to Writing: Several Treatises were the Fruits of his Solitude, particularly that excellent one, entitled *No Cross, No Crown*: A Book which tending to promote the General Design of Religion was well accepted, and hath pass'd sundry Impressions "

The book which Penn himself called "Fruits of Solitude" was written during the years he was in retirement from public life and under a cloud of suspicion as being a Jesuit and Jacobite. It was first published in 1693, and a second part in 1702. Under the title, "Fruits of Solitude", or the sub-title, "Maxims relating to the Conduct of Humane Life," it too has been many times reprinted in England and America, and translated into Dutch, French and German Besse merely

³⁶ J. W. Graham (1916) devotes 4 pages to it, and Janney 2 pages. It was reprinted 5 times during its author's life and at least 18 times in England and 4 times in America during the next century and a quarter, translations of it in Dutch, French and German also appeared



Penn s Writing desk

says of it that it was "an useful little Book, which has also past many Impressions " John William Graham says of its 855 sayings on moral questions that "they are generally true and wise, though there is not that epigrammatic quality about them which usually makes sayings rememberable "³⁷ Samuel M. Janney gives one page of his book to Penn's "Maxims", and calls it "a compendium of practical wisdom that has seldom been equalled in the same compass "

In our international era, Penn's "Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe" is widely known and esteemed Besse only calls it "a Work so adapted to the Unsettled Condition of the Times, and so well received, that it was Reprinted the same Year", he does, however, include it in his edition of Penn's "Works" ³⁸

In the middle of the Nineteenth Century, when permanent international peace appeared to be dawning, S M Janney referred to this Essay as a "work of great value and importance", but devotes only a few lines to it, as follows: "This work was intended to show the 'desirableness of peace, and the true means of it, to wit, justice, and not war ' It proposes that the states or nations of Europe should send deputies to a 'General Diet', or Congress of Nations, where all their differences might be settled on equitable terms, without recourse to arms It is worthy of note that a copy of this remarkable work, supposed to be the same that Penn presented to Queen Anne, was produced at the Peace Convention held within a few years [1849] at Paris, where it was received by the members with great interest as the foreshadowing of their present plans."

The year after the Peace Congress in Paris, another one was held in Frankfurt-am-Main, and Jacob Post, a London Friend (1775-1855) published a small book of eighty pages, entitled "A Popular Memoir of William Penn, Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania, under whose wise Administration the Principles of Peace were maintained in Practice " This book was dedicated "To the European and American Delegates assembled in Congress at Frankfort, in

³⁷ He devotes a half-dozen pages to quoting some of them

³⁸ Vol II, p 838

Germany, for the Glorious Purpose of securing Permanent Peace throughout the World.”

On its title-page were the verses:

“Be wise now therefore, O ye kings;

“Be instructed ye judges of the earth.”

“ ’Tis time to sheathe the sword

“And spare mankind.”

In his preface, the author states some of the principles of the Society of Friends, concluding with its peace principle as follows:—“Lastly, Inasmuch as God, the Universal Father of all mankind, hath made of one blood all nations of the earth, the Quaker regards every man as his brother, and he refuses to engage in war either by personal service or by substitute, or to contribute to the support of war, whether offensive or defensive; he regards the injunction of our Saviour, ‘Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you’, as absolutely prohibiting all war and warlike measures: but when differences arise between nations or individuals, he recommends that they be speedily settled by arbitrators mutually chosen.”

Having briefly sketched Penn’s career, Jacob Post devotes the last dozen pages of his book to a consideration of the peace principle which Penn and the Quaker settlers exemplified in Pennsylvania. Two of his paragraphs on this subject are as follows: “Having traced the history and conduct of William Penn from his youth to the grave, we may now inquire how far he demonstrated the practicability and safety to a nation, in adopting that novel and bold stroke of policy which he avowed, viz, *that all wars are unnecessary*. And although offences may arise, that it is quite possible, and far wiser and better, for all parties, to decide them by justice, and even by concession, rather than by the sword. . . .

“Seeing, then, it has been manifested by William Penn and his followers that peace may be preserved even with barbarous and lawless Indians, surely it is fair to affirm, that the same blessed results would follow between *civilized* nations, if the like means to avert the horrors of war were resorted to, viz. a strict regard to justice and a sincere de-

AN
ESSAY
Towards the Present and Future
PEACE
OF
Europe.

BY THE
Establishment of an European
Dyett, Parliament,
Or Estates.

Beati Pacifici.

Cedant Arma Toros.

London, Printed in the Year, 1693.

W Penn.

sire to promote and preserve peace by forbearance, and if needful, even by concession. It is a favourite maxim with politicians, that 'the way to preserve peace is to be always prepared for war.' This doctrine has been fairly tested by William Penn and by others, and proved to be both fallacious and mischievous."

Jacob Post's conclusion of the whole question he succinctly states as follows: "Penn laid down a plan for the government of his province which has been the admiration of succeeding legislators, but few of whom have, however, had the courage to imitate it."

The Peace Congress, to whose members this reminder of Penn's solution of the problem of peace and war was dedicated,³⁹ was the third international one, held in Frankfurt-am-Main, in 1851. Elhu Burritt of the United States and Joseph Sturge, the English Quaker exponent of pacifism, were prominent leaders in the congress, but Richard Cobden, the exponent of free trade, carried it with him in a demand, not for disarmament, but for the reduction of national armaments to the minimum necessary for national defense. The congress did not agree, either, to the advocacy of an international conference or court for the pacific settlement of international disputes. On both of these issues the congress failed to overtake the plan of William Penn for "a European Court or Dyet" and his practice of an unarmed state in Pennsylvania. The first Hague Conference of 1899 began the realization of Penn's plan for an international conference and court; and the Washington Conference of 1921-22 struck the first blow for the abolition of national armaments which Penn advocated in his Essay and practised in Pennsylvania.

Forty-five years after Besse's biographical sketch and first edition of Penn's "Works" appeared, another edition of the "Select Works of William Penn" was published.⁴⁰ To this was prefixed a sketch of "The Author's Life", which was prepared by a committee of English Friends, whose clerk or chairman appears to have been Dr. John Fothergill.

³⁹ Jacob Post refers, but very briefly (in a single short paragraph), to Penn's "Essay" of 1693, but does not press it at all upon the attention of the congress

⁴⁰ London, 1771, Royal Folio, I Vol, 64+862 pages

Sixty-one of the 926 royal folio pages of this volume are devoted to Penn's Life, as compared with the 154 smaller folio pages of Besse's life.⁴¹

The editors of this 1771 edition make the following comment in their "Advertisement", or preface: "Much might here be said on Subjects so extensive as the Life and Writings of our Author; but we refrain; lest in offering our own Sentiments concerning them, we might seem to be endeavouring to prepossess the Reader in their Favour." They accordingly confine themselves to reprinting Besse's Life almost *verbatim*, and add very few and unimportant details. On the contrary, they omit a number of Besse's references to controversies and controversial treatises.⁴²

To compensate for all their omissions, the editors of 1771 contribute as their only important addition to the edition of 1726 the letter which Penn wrote to his family in 1682 on the eve of his first visit to Pennsylvania.

One omission, very surprising on the face of it, in the 1771 edition, is Besse's reference (of only two lines!) to Penn's great "Essay toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe". The first edition of this Essay was published anonymously in 1693, when Penn was still under the charge of Jacobitism; but, even though Besse so briefly referred to it and did not publish it in his edition of the "Works", surely by 1771 the editors of Penn's Works might have included it *in toto* in their own edition. Indeed, their omission of all reference to it is as inexplicable as it is inexcusable; and it

⁴¹ Including appendices, 248 pages of Besse's book are devoted to the Life

⁴² For example, a dozen of them in 1672-73 with the Muggletonians, John Faldo, Thomas Hicks, Mary Pennyman, John Collenges, ——— Bowls, etc (Pp 44-7, 158-60, 164-7), one with John Cheyney in 1676 (p 50), also a letter of condemnation to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, in 1670 (pp 154-5), a letter of 1674 to Charles II, and a reference to Penn's "The Continued Cry of the Oppressed for Justice" (pp 47-8), the controversy with Richard Baxter in 1675, together with the letters between them (pp 49, 170-6), his answer to an anonymous libel in 1678 (p 120), his prefaces to three books on Quaker sufferings in 1680 (pp 120, 226-9), and to George Fox's Journal in 1694 (p 141), his appendix to John Tomkins's book on the Jews (p 141), and his reply to an anonymous attack on his "Key" (p 141), in 1694, and his and Benjamin Coale's "The Truth of God", 1698 (p 145). All these which Besse includes are omitted a half-century later. Truly, time assuages many conflicts!

accounts for its omission from the editions of his "Works" in 1782, and 1825⁴³ This neglect of Penn's great plan by Quaker editors and biographers is the chief reason why the Friends of the 18th and 19th Centuries were so oblivious of the second and constructive half of the Quaker peace principle and testimony.

Here and there, rare Quaker seers like John Bellers,⁴⁴ cherished Penn's vision of an international government which should substitute pacific settlement for war; and outside of the Quaker fold, pioneer thinkers were not altogether unmindful of it Lord George Lyttelton, for example, included among his "Dialogues of the Dead,"⁴⁵ one between Penn and Cortez, in which Penn's Holy Experiment of peace and justice in Pennsylvania is contrasted with Cortez' reign of violence in Mexico⁴⁶ And in an anonymous biography of Penn published in Edinburgh, in 1828, there occurs the following paragraph referring to Penn's "Essay":

"His next work was on no less a matter than an amendment of the Law of Nations As a Quaker, he had long lamented the evils of war With the view, therefore, of preventing all appeal to the sword, he, now that Europe seemed about to be involved in a sanguinary contest, put forth a scheme for the establishment of a European Diet, or 'Holy Alliance', for the settlement of national [sic] differences; but on a somewhat more liberal basis than that which has been accustomed of late to hold its sittings at Verona, and issue manifestoes against the liberties of mankind"!

But even though Joseph Besse was among those Eighteenth Century sufferers from universal and perpetual warfare who did not appreciate the immediate value and prophetic importance of Penn's great plan for preserving the peace of Europe, as a biographer of Penn he nevertheless

⁴³ It has been republished in many lands and many languages, and was edited and annotated in 1919 by the author of this book, and copies of it were presented by him to the delegates to the Peace Conference at Paris in that year How far it influenced, directly or indirectly, that conference in developing the League of Nations would make an interesting study

⁴⁴ "Some Reasons for an European State, etc," London, 1710

⁴⁵ London, 1760

⁴⁶ See the *Friends' Intelligencer*, Vol 90 (1933), p 230

deserves well of posterity. For his biographical sketch did much to interpret and preserve the spirit of the great Quaker seer and founder. His voluminous edition of Penn's own writings, too, enriched the minds of generations of Quaker readers in England and America, his "Farewel" to whom may well be quoted and heeded today. "The Whole," he says at the end of his address To the Reader, "is submitted to thy Consideration, with these Cautions: Peruse patiently; Judge impartially; Censure charitably; Embrace cheerfully what thou findest evidently True, and if in any Thing thou art yet otherwise minded, wait without Prejudice for farther Illumination."

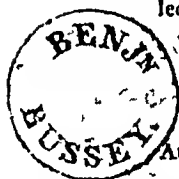
THE LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN,

THE
SETTLER OF PENNSYLVANIA,

THE
*Founder of Philadelphia, and one of the First Lawgivers
in the Colonies, now United States, in 1682.*

CONTAINING ALSO

His celebrated treaty with the Indians—his purchase of their country—valuable anecdotes of Admiral Penn—also of King Charles II, King James II, King William, and Queen Anne, in whose reign William Penn lived—curious circumstances that led him to become a Quaker—with a view of the admirable traits in the character of the people called FRIENDS or QUAKERS, who have done so much to meliorate the condition of suffering humanity



BY M. L. WEEMS,

Author of the Life of Washington, &c

Character of William Penn, by Montesquieu

"William Penn is a real Lyeurgus. And though the former made PEACE his principal aim, as the latter did WAR yet they resemble one another in the singular way of living to which they reduced their people—in the astonishing ascendancy they gained over free men, and in the strong passions which they subdued

Character of William Penn, by Edmund Burke

"William Penn, as a Legislator, deserves immortal thanks from the whole world. It is pleasing, to do honour to those great men whose virtues and generosity have contributed to the peopling of the earth, and to the Freedom and happiness of mankind, and who have preferred the interest of a remote Posterity and times unknown, to their own fortune, and to the quiet and security of their own lives."

PHILADELPHIA

H. C. CAREY AND L. LEA—CHESNUT STREET

1822

CHAPTER II

PENN'S FIRST AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY

The first life of Penn written by an American was penned by the same facile hand which wrote the first life of Washington. This latter biography has been for more than a century the despair of historians for not only was it the most popular of American biographies, having gone through twenty editions in its author's life-time and more than seventy in all, besides uncounted pirated editions; but, by its inclusion of the "Cherry Tree" and other myths, it made of Washington the super-man, or the bust or statue, or the abstract collection of all human virtues and no human weaknesses, which three generations of later biographers and historians have never succeeded in wholly supplanting in the minds of the American people by the true George Washington.

Having made this highly successful appeal to the imaginations and sensibilities of the people and discovered their strong liking for fiction, the author of "General George Washington" tried his hand on "General Francis Marion", which turned out to be a (far less popular) military romance, as his "Washington" had been made a romance of peace. William Penn, another and a truer hero of peace, was the next subject for his immortalizing genius.

Joseph Smith, in his "Catalogue of Friends' Books" (1867), refers briefly to this biography as "The Life of William Penn By Weems. Philadelphia. 12 mo. 1836." It was copyrighted January 10, 1820, and first published in 1822,⁴⁷ it was copyrighted again July 27, 1829, and reprinted in 1836.⁴⁸ The only difference between the two editions is that the first has 219 pages, and the second 208 pages of the life itself with twelve more pages containing Penn's letter to his family in 1682. Both editions omit Chapter III and number two chapters XII! The Friends' Historical Library of Swarthmore College possesses a copy of the 1836 edition, and

⁴⁷ By H. C. Carey and I. Lea, Chestnut St., Philadelphia

⁴⁸ By Uriah Hunt (the father-in-law of Dr. Edward Parrish, the first President of Swarthmore College), 101 Market St., Philadelphia

one of the 1856 edition or reprint; and the Pennsylvania Historical Society possesses a copy of the 1822 edition.

The book's full title is: "The Life of William Penn, the Settler of Pennsylvania, the Founder of Philadelphia, and one of the first Lawgivers in the Colonies, now United States, in 1682." The title-page states also that the book contains "His celebrated Treaty with the Indians—His Purchase of



Mason Locke Weems

their Country—Valuable Anecdotes of Admiral Penn—Also of King Charles II, King James II, King William, and Queen Anne, in whose Reigns William Penn lived—Curious Circumstances that led him to become a Quaker—With a view of the admirable Traits in the Character of the People called Friends or Quakers, who have done so much to meliorate the Condition of suffering Humanity." As endorsement of his own estimate of Penn and the Quakers, the author quotes also on his title-page (and at the end of the book) the encomiums passed upon them by Montesquieu and Edmund Burke. The

author's name is given as "M. L. Weems, Author of the Life of Washington, &c "

Under this modest guise we find a rare and almost unique personality. His initials stand for Mason Locke, the first a well-known Maryland and Virginia family-name, and the second that of the famous philosopher, the friend of William Penn and the framer of a short-lived constitution for the colony of Carolina. Our author was born in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, in 1759; studied theology in London, was apparently ordained as a clergyman in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and appointed rector of Mount Vernon Parish, Virginia. His keen sense of humor proved too much for the gravity of his congregation, as it is said to have evoked ripples of laughter during his sermons and even during his prayers. This was probably a chief reason why his career as a regular clergyman closed at the age of thirty; but throughout his life he continued to be known as "Parson Weems"⁴⁰

The vivid human and dramatic gifts which he possessed, besides his sense of humor, were well adapted in that age to success in the selling of books; and a book-pedlar he became during a full generation. The excellence of his super-salesmanship may be estimated from the fact that he is said to have sold more than 50,000 copies of Mrs. Rawson's "Charlotte Temple." This book went through more than one hundred editions, made its publisher (Matthew Carey of Philadelphia) rich, and revealed to its most successful seller the love of fiction as a leading trait of contemporary American character.

Weems was no ordinary book-agent in the familiar sense, he was a book-pedlar, and carried his stock in trade with him over many thousands of miles in a half-dozen states on the eastern sea-board. Mounted on horse-back, or driving his "buggy", he threaded or plowed his way through the dust and mud of country roads or Indian trails. His humor and gossip and "fiddle" made him a welcome guest in taverns and remote homesteads, and enabled him to officiate at weddings as musician, dancer and fun-maker extraordinary, after he had officiated as "the marrying parson "

⁴⁰ John Davis's "Travels in America", London, 1802, has a graphic reference to Weems's pastorate

His success in book-selling turned his mind to book-writing, and he naturally selected as the first subject of his skill the most popular man in America, to whom he preached in Pohick Church and probably visited at Mount Vernon. His intimate knowledge of the habits of the people and his own warm-hearted sympathy for their trials and tribulations made of him a fervent moral crusader, and he preached indefatigably in his circuit-riding book-selling against those prevalent evils of the time, drunkenness, gambling and duelling. His keen realization of the evils of drunkenness, which was so rife among his contemporaries, and which only such rare minds as that of Abraham Lincoln publicly condemned, led him to write against it a pamphlet entitled "The Drunkard's Looking-Glass." He not only illustrated this with startling wood-cuts, but when he entered a tavern full of drinking men he would himself imitate the antics of drunkards and make the performance so dramatic and appealing that he sold his pamphlet "like hot-cakes"! His admiration for virtue and thrift drew him to the second most popular American, Benjamin Franklin, of whom also he wrote a biography; but the rather dull moral conversations with which he overstocked this book prevented it from becoming in any sense a rival of Franklin's own autobiography.

The same trend of thought and character led him to that other foremost Pennsylvanian, William Penn. In his book-peddling, he had doubtless had much traffic with the Quakers, and their genial hospitality would have greatly increased his admiration for their other virtues. Quite naturally, then, he selected their great leader as the subject of his biography. His veneration for Penn and his co-religionists was by no means over-shadowed by his shrewd estimate that such a biography, the first by an American and published in Philadelphia, the heart of American Quakerism, would be profitable. It is probable that Penn's own salesmanship, to which he devotes five of his pages, struck a note of kindred sympathy and admiration in the successful book-pedlar and author; but all parts of his biography of Penn were evidently written *con amore*.

Thomas Clarkson's life of Penn had been published in London in 1813, and reprinted in Philadelphia the next year;

and while Clarkson's two volumes contain about 800 pages and Weems's book only one-fourth as many, there is internal evidence that Weems reaped his harvest partly from Clarkson's sowing. The diverse methods of the two authors are amusingly characteristic. Where but little authentic information was known, Clarkson's treatment is very brief, while Weems seizes these opportunities to become diffuse. For example, Clarkson devotes only ten pages to Penn's ancestors, parents, boyhood and education, while Weems treats these topics in fifty-one⁵⁰

Clarkson's references to Penn's mother include merely the statement that his father "married Margaret, the daughter of John Jasper, a merchant of Rotterdam in Holland", and a notice of less than a page recording her death in 1682 and her son's consequent grief and illness; but Weems, who explained great men's greatness as due to their mothers, devotes twenty-five pages to relating imaginary conversations between Margaret Penn and William when the latter was beginning school and when he was imprisoned in the Tower. Even a grandmother, apparently named "Pennwood" ("a great lady, pious in an uncommon degree"), Weems does not hesitate to invent, assigning her an "elegant and hospitable mansion in Buckinghamshire", called "the traveller's rest", to which he has William flee from his father's wrath, be received by her "with exceeding joy", and be comforted by a half-page of grandmotherly indignation and consolation.

To Penn's mother, Weems devotes his best skill in portrait-painting and makes her out so pious, tender and wise that her friend, Pepys the malicious diarist, would have been amazed by the caricature of her which had displaced his own "Disappointments served but to startle her into thought", writes Weems in one of many purple paragraphs concerning her, "and to spring suspicious of this world's vanity. As a delicate bird of the skies, accidentally lighting on a *barren*, and defrauded of the *nectarine* food she seeks, instantly lifts the ivory beak and pensive eye of disappointment, then, spurning the inhospitable soil, she spreads her golden plumes and with chirping joy springs towards her native element.

⁵⁰ Janney (1852) gives us three pages on these topics, and Graham (1916) ten, two and a half of which refer to Penn's mother

Just so it was with the mother of young William Penn Born for a better, she soon discovered that this world was not the place of her rest. Instantly she gave her heart to God. She sought an equal happiness for her son How could a mother of her sensibility behold his soft flaxen locks and tender cheeks of youth without tears of solicitude that he might have the Lord for his God?"



"Penn and his Mother"

A sprightly religious dialogue of seven pages between his mother and William—"a fine, plump, fleshy boy five or six years old, standing at his mother's knees"—ends in the simile: "As the Parent Eagle calling her young to his native skies, when she sees the breaking forth of the sun over all his golden clouds, thus did this tender mother improve the precious hours of the nursery to sow the seeds of religion in the soul of her son. The reader will see in due season that this, her labour of love was not in vain The seed fell on good ground. The dews of heaven came down: and the happy mother lived to feast on fruits, the richest that God can be-

stow on a parent this side of eternity, the sweet fruits of a dear child's virtues "

A chapter, too, is devoted to "Little William going to School"; and the parting dialogue between him and his mother on that occasion ends in her giving him a watch—reminiscent of the immortal Washingtonian hatchet—with the words: "Now, William, I give you this watch, that at a particular hour of the day, no matter what company or business is before you, you will retire to your chamber, and there spend one quarter of an hour in devotion I will also, at the same moment, retire to my closet, for the same important purpose And O, what joy will it be to my heart to think that while I am in the act of adoring God, my son is adoring him also; that while others are making their court to dying worms, my son is bowing before the Eternal King, and seeking those honours that will last for ever. William took the watch from his mother, giving her at the same time the most solemn promise . . . ; and having on this, as on all other occasions, such good cause to glory in his mother as his dear guardian angel, took leave of her with a joy mingled with his tears that made them delicious "

Two anecdotes in William's boyhood are associated with Admiral Penn, but Weems gives us no clue to the source of his information, and Clarkson has them not The first of these has to do with one of the admiral's tenants, "a poor man named Thomas Pearce, just such an honest and good natured soul as everybody loves " The seven years old William—"whom honest Thomas had so often carried in his arms, and returning from the Fair had brought him many a cake and apple"—saw Thomas one day toiling with his cart in the admiral's service After an edifying conversation about it with his father, the following dialogue occurs: "Why, father, when poor Tom comes to want any work done, you should send your wagon to help him " "My *cart* you mean, William, for you see I have only his cart." "Yes, father, but your wagon is not so much bigger than his cart as you are richer than poor Tom " Whereupon, like the elder Washington, "the Admiral embracing him cried God bless my son, I hope you'll be a brave, honest-hearted Englishman as long as you live."

The other anecdote is the story of one of the Admiral's seamen, "a young officer of the name of Fenton, the only son of his mother, and she a widow." Fenton was "giddy and dissipated in a high degree, which cost his mother many a tear; and one day, as drowned in sorrow, she took leave of him going on ship-board to fight the enemy", she presented him



"Boyhood Tales"

with "a beautiful little Bible, which she put into a side pocket made by her own hands, over his left breast." In "a most bloody conflict" which soon occurred, "a stout Dutchman" presented a pistol at Fenton's heart and drew the trigger: "The ball struck. Feeling the shock, Fenton concluded he was mortally wounded, but being naturally brave, he continued to fight on with great fury, though not without secretly wondering that he did not fall. On the ceasing of the battle, which terminated in favour of the British, he began to search for his wound. But not a scratch could he find, nor even a drop of blood. This, no doubt, was great good news to him who had given himself up for dead. He then thought of his Bible, and drawing it from his side pocket, found it miserably torn by the ball, which, but for that strange stop, would have been buried in his heart. The thoughts of heaven and of his mother rushed on his mind; and, for the first time in his life, he fell

on his knees and adored a God. Carefully opening his Bible, he found that the ball, after penetrating one half of the sacred volume, had stopped exactly at that famous verse⁵¹—‘Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thy heart and in the sight of thine eyes; but know thou, that for all these things God shall bring thee into judgment!’ Fenton was so struck with this as a call from heaven, our author so points his moral, “that he immediately altered his life, and from a worthless reprobate became a Good Christian—that is a Real Gentleman.”

It is upon such paternal influences as these that Weems relies for his explanation of Penn's development into a good Christian and real gentleman, but to account for his Quakerism, Weems emphasizes with many details as to acts and words, thoughts and feelings, the familiar story of Penn's meetings with Thomas Loe. The Paris experiment strikes the fancy of our romantic biographer, who alleges the father's admiration of the French language, “which he said was always to his ear like music”, as the pretext for sending the son to France. The real reason he divines to be a desire to divert the son's mind from fanaticism, “with the hope, too, that from the mixture of William's *extreme gravity* with the *excessive gaiety of the French*, there would arise a *tertium quid*, a happy mediocrity of manners that would render him the delight of the nation; . . . so dressing him up in the richest apparel, yet, as William begged, of a *plain fashion*, and filling his pockets with money and letters of introduction to great men, he packed him off for France.” The result of the experiment, even Pepys admits, was to make of William “quite a fine gentleman”; while Weems enthusiastically enlarged upon this as follows: “He learned their [the French] language with the facility of a mocking-bird—he caught their manners by instinct—his limbs forgot their proud British stiffness—and his muscles their cold unlovely rigidity—and whether he stood or moved, whether he bowed or smiled, in standing, moving, bowing and smiling, shone forth the elegant and all accomplished Frenchman.”

⁵¹ This verse is Ecclesiastes, XI, 9 (on p 559 of an edition of 1000 pages)

The fall from this fair state into the slough of Quakerism had dramatic meaning in it for Weems, who records the event with glowing contrast and follows it up with fifteen pages of agitated dialogue between the son, the father and the mother. The reception of the convert by the Quakers is given in intimate detail, and George Whitehead is made his chief interlocutor, warning him in one passage that Quakerism "is the *hardest* religion in the whole world because, while other religions go chiefly on *notions*, ours on *love*."

Penn's career as a preacher "after six years of seclusion" devoted to the study of "what particular books and bodies of divinity—I have never been able to learn", made a strong appeal to Parson Weems. Seven pages are seized for the opportunity of giving the author's ideas of the proper training for the ministry,—which are quite modern for their liberality, and the conclusion is that, like plants in the hands of the skilful chemist, "so in passing through the alembic of William Penn's brain, the grossest bodies of divinity appeared all at once decomposed, the bonds whereby sophistry had coupled truth and error are instantly dissolved, and the vile and the precious are shown in such characteristic colours that a child can easily mark the difference."

The beginning of Penn's prosecutions and imprisonments Weems attributes to a dissenting clergyman named Irvine, who appears to have been the Thomas Vincent of the true story. Another "reverend gentleman" Weems quotes as having declared in print that "parliament would not be doing half as much harm to the nation by *tolerating* gamblers, *horsethieves*, *duellists*, and *all that pack of vermin*, as by *tolerating the quakers*"; which leads Weems to remark: "Had a whale or a grampus, during a heavy blow at sea, put in to the mouth of the Thames, no historian of those days would on any account have missed relating the wonderful and portentous event. And yet this reverend whale of spiritual ignorance and bigotry, who made his appearance in the city of London so late as the year 1669, is no where noticed by Hume, Smollett, or any other British writer that I have seen. So much apter are men to notice monsters in the natural than in the moral world, thus dipping, like wanton swallows, at

mere feathers on the surface to amuse a vain fancy, when they ought to be diving like men to the bottom of moral truths, for the precious pearls of true wisdom."

Penn's imprisonment in the Tower in 1668-69 was significant for Weems because of a visit paid him by his mother



"Penn and his Mother in London Tower"

and their long conversation on religion which he (invents and) records. At the end of his account, he pictures Mrs. Penn arising to go away and saying: "I came here to comfort you, but thank God for ever, you have much more comforted me." No mention does he make of the writing in the Tower of what was perhaps Penn's greatest book, "No Cross, No Crown", although Clarkson devotes eight pages to describing its contents. Nor does he mention the famous trial of Penn and Mead at the Old Bailey in 1670, which established the rights of juries, although Clarkson gives it a dozen pages

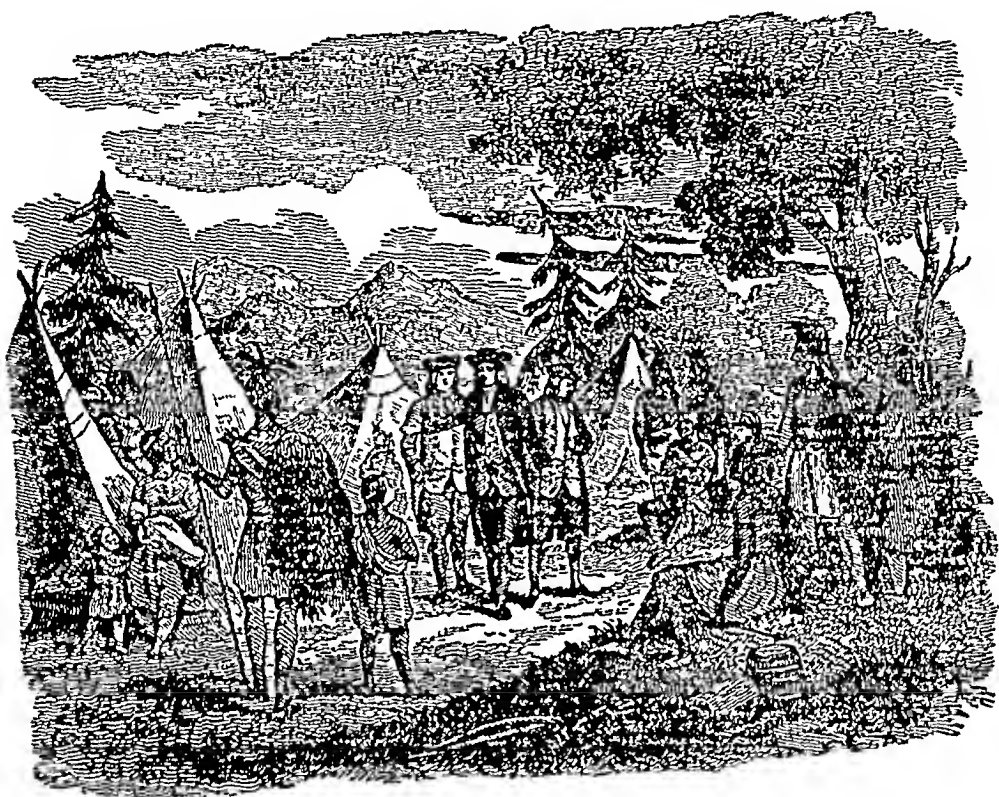
The death-bed scene of Admiral Penn and his forgiveness

of his son are dramatic enough to induce Weems to write a half-dozen pages on them and relate the conversations he imagined between the parents and their son. This brings the biographer more than half-way through his book, and the rest of it is devoted chiefly to Pennsylvania and its affairs, and especially to his account of Penn's relations with the Indians. Clarkson, in this part of his biography of Penn, acknowledges his indebtedness to Robert Proud, the Philadelphia Quaker historian, who wrote his book during the American Revolution and published it in 1797-98. Weems makes "the book of the chronicles of the people called Quakers, by *Joseph* [sic] Proud,⁵² and Thomas Clarkson, and divers others," his excuse for practically ending his own biography in 1685; and most of the Pennsylvania and Indian material in his book comes from the Philadelphia author.

Penn's leave-taking of Charles II, on the eve of his first voyage to America, Weems uses as an opportunity for giving a dialogue of several pages between the King and the Founder, in which Penn justifies the founding of an unarmed state in the Indian wilderness. When asked by Charles what security he had that he would not be in the Indians' war-kettle within two hours after setting foot on their shores, Penn replied that his security was better than Charles' soldiers and the best in the world, namely, the Indians' *own moral sense*. The duty of paying the Indians for their lands, and the fallacy of ownership based on "discovery", are also emphasized by Penn in this animated dialogue. "Tradition", Weems concludes, "does not report the reply which King Charles made to this modest yet cutting reproof; but

⁵² The author whose first name Weems gives thus erroneously was Robert Proud, the best known of the early writers on Pennsylvania. He was a Philadelphia Quaker, born in 1728, only ten years after Penn's death, and familiar with older contemporaries who had known Penn well in his life-time. Proud's book was "The History of Pennsylvania, etc", and "was written," he states, "principally between the years 1776 and 1780." It was published in Philadelphia in two volumes, 8vo, in 1797 and 1798. Of its 1000 pages, about eight per cent refer to Penn, and many of these have to do with his relations with Pennsylvania. Eight of them give a sketch of his life before 1682, and 50 sketch the rise and principles of the Quakers. Weems may have used the book for *inspiration* in dealing with Pennsylvania affairs and the Indians, but with evident carelessness as to accuracy.

it is hoped that the *American Youth* will take notice how very small indeed a wicked king appears when placed by the side of an honest man."⁵³



"Penn Preaching to the Indians"

The Indians and Penn's dealings with them made an especial appeal to Weems. Thirteen of his pages are filled with details of the "Great Treaty at Shackamaxon,"—its alleged conversations, speeches, personal appearance, the Elm Tree, the peace-pipe, the gifts of land to the whites and of merchandise to the Indians. These latter gifts are itemized under thirty-four headings, from 1 Barrel of beer and 1 Skipple of salt to 300 Flints and 300 Tobacco pipes; the probable value of each article is also stated in terms of the money of Weems's day, and amounts to a total of \$515.50. The land

⁵³ Weems thus enforces the lesson drawn in his biography of Washington that even though a great American might not be able to toss a dollar across the Potomac, he could chuck a sovereign across the Atlantic, but Weems terms Penn's interview with Charles a "duty of respect"

ceded to "the great Sachem of the white men" is stated to have been "all binding on the great river from the mouth of Duck creek to what is now called Bristol, and from the river towards the setting sun as far as a man could ride in two days on a horse." Even "the Walking Purchase", by which Governor Thomas Penn grossly cheated the Indians a score of years after his father's death, is ascribed to the Founder by Weems, who makes it an opportunity of acclaiming William Penn's wisdom and charity, but fails to convince the reader of its justice.

Penn's own account of the Indians is given in detail; and his identification of them with "the Lost Tribes of Israel" together with his fourteen reasons therefor are endorsed with the foot-note: "The world laughed at William Penn for this bold conjecture; but Captain Cook and later navigators have shown it to be very practicable and probable"!

The Holy Experiment, in Weems's eyes, had to do not at all with religious liberty or popular government, but with the application of Penn's peace-principles to his dealings with the Indians. He pictures Penn as spending the night before his landing at Shackamaxon "in fervent prayer that God would, in his great mercy, now realize all those bright visions of love and happiness between the Red and White people which he had so often and with such pleasure dwelt upon. . . . He felt how much was at stake. On the one hand, he himself had always most confidently maintained that, 'the grace of God which bringeth salvation, appears to all men,' *i.e.*, that the moral sense is universal, and of sufficient efficacy to conciliate the affections even of heathens to strangers visiting them, provided those strangers in all their dealings, would be most scrupulously *honest* and *kind* to them: on the other hand the British king and ministry had equally ridiculed these opinions of his as utterly visionary, and had left him with a handful of his despised followers to make the rash and ruinous experiment. The awful hour for that experiment is at hand, and in a short time it is to be decided whether men are creatures capable of moral and religious control or not; or in other words, whether when Christians have a mind to settle new discovered lands, they must, as heretofore, use all manner of villanous frauds and violence, killing the in-

habitants by fire-arms and gin; or whether by going among them, not with dumb bibles and crucifixes in *their hands*, but its blessed spirit of love in their hearts, and smiles in their looks, and justice and kindness in their actions, they may not change these poor heathens into dearest friends, and in this short and most honourable way to attain all the blessings of the safest and sweetest society in rich and new countries."

The last chapter of his book Weems devotes to an eulogy of Penn's "memorable treaty, wherein it would seem as though God, in order to show the *universality of his grace*, had purposely called that heavenly-spirited man to the exceeding honour of demonstrating it, in the face of the whole world, by his extraordinary experiments on those North American Indians, generally thought the most lawless and savage of the human race " He contrasts with much wealth of detail Jamestown's and Captain John Smith's bloody, and Philadelphia's and William Penn's peaceful, relations with their Indian neighbors, and he expresses the conviction that "no man, perhaps, has ever had the honour, by a single act of his life, to confer such an obligation on mankind as William Penn has done by his treaty with the Indians." The last words of his biography are. "O when will mankind learn that *God is Love*—that his plan embraces the happiness of *all*, and that none but those who seek their own consistently with the good of others shall ever find it?" Had he lived in our international era, instead of in his own post-colonial times, he would doubtless have applied the example of William Penn to relations, not only between advanced and backward nations, but especially between those who claim to be the possessors of the flower and fruit of civilization.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST DUTCH LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN

Willem Sewel's account of William Penn in his "History of the People called Quakers" is not so much a "Life" as a series of biographical sketches. But since these portions of his book, as well as all the others, were minutely used by the later biographers of Penn and historians of Quakerism, in whatever language they wrote; and since Sewel's sketches constitute the only contemporary and authentic account in Dutch literature of Penn's life, it may well stand for a Netherlander's estimate of him.

This particular Netherlander, too, is of primary interest and importance as a historian of early Quakerism in general. His book was first published in Dutch, in Amsterdam, 1717⁵⁴ He then translated it into English and the English Friends had it published, with sundry changes, in London, 1722⁵⁵ A half-dozen other reprints of the English edition were issued in London during the next century,⁵⁶ five in Philadelphia, Burlington and New York, and a folio edition in German in 1742

The author⁵⁷ was descended on the paternal side from English exiles for religion's sake, but his father was born in Holland and his mother was of Dutch or Flemish stock. His parents were converted from the Mennonite faith to Quakerism through the preaching of William Ames, in 1657, when Willem was four years old. He was accordingly brought up under the strict régime of the Seventeenth Century Quakers and saw a great deal of the English and American Friends who visited Holland. He himself was sent as a lad of fifteen to England, where his mother, who was a Quaker preacher, had been five years before. Here he became acquainted with

⁵⁴ One volume, folio, 867 pages

⁵⁵ One volume, folio, 750 pages

⁵⁶ Usually in two volumes, octavo

⁵⁷ Cf. Monograph Number One ("Willem Sewel of Amsterdam")

HISTORI

Van de

Opkomst, Aanwas, en Voortgang

Der

CHRISTENEN,

Bekend by den naam van

QUAKERS.

Ondermengd met de voornaamste Staatsgeschiedenissen
van dien tyd, in Engeland voorgevallen

En met *Authentike* Stukken voorzien.

DOOR

W^m S E W E L.



Te AMSTERDAM

By R. en G WETSTEIN, Boekverkoopers in de Kalverstraat,
by de St^e Lucye-sleeg 1717

some of the leading Friends whose history he was to record. Among these were Steven Crisp, one of the most active planters of Quakerism in Holland, and Josiah Coale, an intimate friend of William Penn, whose death occurred in London when Sewel was there. Thomas Loe, through whose preaching William Penn first turned to Quakerism, died there about the same time. The lad heard George Fox preach several times, was told details of the attack by a mob upon the Quaker meeting from which his mother was haled off to prison, heard vivid details of the martyrdom of James Parnel and Francis Howgil, and was so deeply impressed by the heroic story of early Quakerism in both England and Holland that many evidences of the thrills he received from it in his youth are found in his History a half-century later.

Having become skilled in the use of five foreign languages, he spent his life in the teaching of them, in writing for magazines, the compilation of dictionaries, the translation into Dutch of famous books in English, Latin, Italian, French and German, and in constant and varied services to Quakerism. Among these last was the translation of a number of Quaker books into Dutch, including four of the writings of William Penn, and the interpretation of sermons of many Quaker preachers from England and America who travelled in the Netherlands during his life-time. Many of his letters are extant and most of these were written in Latin and addressed to William Penn.

The first mention of the Penns, father or son, in Sewel's History occurs at the end of Book IV, under the date of 1655, and is as follows: "Cromwell tried to spread the fear of his name abroad,⁵⁸ and for this purpose sent two fleets to sea: one under Admiral Penn with a goodly number of soldiers under General (*krygsoverste*) Venables, both of whom were devoted to the young King⁵⁹ but, deceived in each other, kept their sentiments concealed. The other fleet was under the

⁵⁸ The English editions use here the phrase "Cromwell, to raise his esteem abroad"

⁵⁹ Prince Charles, five years later King Charles II, was then in exile in Zeeland

command of Admiral Blake. The first made an expedition to the West Indies, the other sailed to the Mediterranean."⁶⁰

Sewel has only a few other references to William's father, one of which is in regard to his death and his dying words to his son. The gift of Pennsylvania to the younger Penn was made by the king, he says, because of the considerable sum of money which Penn's father, the Knight and Admiral William Penn, had formerly loaned to the King.⁶¹ After a brief description of Pennsylvania, Sewel states that the Admiral had died long before [eleven years], and proceeds to record his dying words of lamentation for England's wickedness and of advice to his son. "Son William," Sewel quotes him as saying, "if you and your friends hold to your plain way of preaching, and persevere in your plain and simple (*slecht en recht*) living, you will make an end of priesthood throughout the world."⁶² The much mooted question of whether Penn's mother was "a well looked, fat, short old *Dutchwoman*," as the diarist Pepys describes her in August, 1664, or merely the widow of a Dutchman and the daughter of an Anglo-Irish merchant trading with Rotterdam, could have been easily settled for us by Sewel; but he has no reference to her in any of his writings.

It was not until Sewel's History reached the year 1668 (five-sevenths of the way through it) that he takes up the

⁶⁰ On their return from the expedition, each blamed the other for its failure to capture San Domingo, its original purpose. But on the way home, Penn captured Jamaica on his own initiative. Although this was the beginning of the British Empire in the West Indies, Cromwell was disappointed that the expedition had failed to capture San Domingo, an important center of Spanish power in America, and perhaps suspected that both Penn and Venables were in treasonable correspondence with the exiled Stuart, he sent them both to the Tower. After five weeks' imprisonment, Penn was sent off to his estates in Ireland, and on the fall of Cromwell's son, he went to Holland, aided Charles II's restoration, and received a knighthood and other rewards. The English editions of Sewel's History omit all reference to Venables and his difference with Penn.

⁶¹ The English editions state "Because the king owed him still a considerable sum for the services of his father, the Admiral Sir William Penn." Later historians say that Charles did owe him money for loans and arrears of pay amounting to £16,000.

⁶² Sewel quotes these words from William Penn's "No Cross, No Crown" (the second edition of 1682), which Sewel himself translated into Dutch and published in Amsterdam in 1687.



Wm. Sewed.

story of William Penn's life. It is an interesting coincident that Sewel, a lad of fifteen, was in England in that same year, and he must have heard much of the conversion of the young aristocrat, and may have even seen and talked with him at that time. In that year, he says in his History, Penn "began to show himself publicly an adherent to and a champion of the Society of Friends,"—that is to say, he became a Quaker preacher. In the paragraph that follows, Sewel sums up his previous life "He had been trained," he writes, "in the University of Oxford, and he was afterwards sent by his father into France, where he lived for some time (as he himself once told me) with the famous preacher, Moyses Amyraud [Moses Amyrault]. After a considerable stay in that kingdom, having returned home and gone to Ireland, he went on one occasion into a meeting of those called Quakers. This being raided, he and others were carried off to prison, although he was garbed like a young aristocrat (*jonker*) and wore a large wig. In prison, he was the more confirmed by his fellow-prisoners in the doctrine which he already was convinced to be true. When it was understood that he was the son of Admiral Penn, an order was speedily given for his release. But meanwhile this change [to Quakerism] caused his father no little grief, for he had designed to make a courtier of him, and must now see his eldest son, in the flower of his youth (being about nineteen years old),⁶³ gone over to the sect of the despised Quakers. Many means were used, even to depriving him of the necessities of life, to induce him if possible to cherish different opinions. But all tricks and traps (*listen en laagen*) proved fruitless, and he remained steadfast, conversing much especially with Josiah Coale, who had likewise as a young aristocrat accepted the teachings of the Quakers."

Sewel does not speak of Thomas Loe in connection with Penn at Oxford, but in recording his death in 1668, he calls him "a man of excellent gift, who had labored zealously in the service of the Gospel in Ireland and whose ministry there had brought many over into the Society of Friends." Among these, Sewel adds, was William Penn, who visited him on his death-bed and recorded his dying words. Penn's account of

⁶³ The English editions give his age as "about the twenty-second year"

Loe's illness and death was written in a letter to his future father-in-law, Isaac Penington, and is dated, "London, 17th. of 8th. Mo. 1668." Sewel must have had access to this manuscript,⁶⁴ for he repeats some of Loe's words almost *verbatim* as Penn had written them in his letter. Two months after



"Penn at the Death-bed of Thomas Loe"

Loe's death, Penn was imprisoned in the Tower, where he wrote "No Cross, No Crown"; and it is interesting to note that the title of this his greatest book occurs in Loe's dying words. "Taking me by the hand," Penn wrote, "he spoke thus: 'Dear heart, bear thy cross, stand faithful for God, and bear thy testimony in thy day and generation; and God will give thee an eternal crown of glory that none shall ever take from thee.'"⁶⁵ After quoting these words, Sewel adds: "No wonder that this speech of one who stood on the point of

⁶⁴ It was published in 1868 in Maria Webb's "The Penns and Peningtons of the Seventeenth Century," pp 197-9

⁶⁵ In his edition of "No Cross, No Crown" in 1682, Penn added a number of the dying sayings of famous men, but did not include those of Thomas Loe among them

eternity thoroughly confirmed Penn in the teachings which he had accepted as the Truth ”

Penn's imprisonment in the Tower in 1668-69 was caused by his debate in London with a Presbyterian minister on the question of the trinity, and by his "Sandy Foundation Shaken" which, Sewel says, "he himself distributed (*hy zelf in 't openbaar uytdeelde*)."⁶⁶ In his Dutch original, Sewel says of the book that its theses were "so powerfully defended by reason and the Holy Scriptures that I am unaware of anyone taking up the pen against it." The English translations do not include this praise, but they do have Sewel's statement that the book caused such a stir as to be ill spoken of and to cause its author's imprisonment in the Tower. This imprisonment, Sewel hints, was deemed by some to have been with his father's knowledge, "perhaps to shield him from being worse treated."

It was during this imprisonment that Penn wrote "No Cross, No Crown"; and it is passing strange that Sewel makes no mention in his History of this book so famous among Friends and others, especially since he himself translated its second and enlarged edition of 1682 into Dutch.

On the other hand, Sewel does attribute to Penn while in the Tower the writing of a poem which he gives in his Dutch edition, but which appears in none of his English editions and nowhere in the Works of William Penn himself. This poem, or elegy (*Lykklagte*) as he calls it, he says was written on the death of Josiah Coale. The "Works" of the latter (1671) contain a prose testimonial to him by William Penn, but not the poem; while a poem with the initials M. F. (Margaret Fell ?) is included.⁶⁷ Strangely enough, the first two lines of this latter poem, which are as follows:

"Is dear *Josiah* gone? yes, he is gone;
"He's gone from us, in the Eternal One"

bear a striking resemblance to the first two lines of the poem Sewel ascribes to William Penn, a translation of which is as follows:

⁶⁶ The English editions translate this "he himself spread "

⁶⁷ Pp 25-26 of Coale's "Works "

“What! is Josiah *Kool* then from us departed!
 “Is he departed, never to return again?”

Here the resemblance of the two poems disappears; and Margaret's is only 44 lines in length, while William's runs to 146 lines and fills nearly three of Sewel's folio pages.⁶⁸

That Penn was not entirely lacking in the poetic gift is evident from at least one stanza which he is said to have uttered *extempore* as he met a little girl, the daughter of one of his friends.⁶⁹ The stanza is given as follows,⁷⁰ and the smoothness of its English may correct the roughness of the poem which Sewel gives in Dutch:

“Sweet soul! what makes thee stray
 From the angelic way?
 Was it to teach us how to love
 The happy regions of the blest above?
 If so, Oh! let thy wand'ring prove our gain,
 And take us with thee back again.”

The trial of William Penn and William Mead in 1670, which vindicated the rights of English juries, fills nine pages in Sewel's History, and is quoted from Penn's own account, which was published in 1670 and reprinted three times before 1700. Sewel's Dutch version differs from his English editions in giving some foot-notes to explain the value of a mark⁷¹ and the meaning of some Latin phrases. After his release from Newgate in August, 1671, Penn went over to Holland, and may have met with Sewel at that time. But although Sewel tells of Fox's journey to America in that year, he says nothing of Penn's journey to Holland and Germany; and Penn himself makes a very brief reference to it in the account of his journey of 1677.⁷²

⁶⁸ Pp 553-556

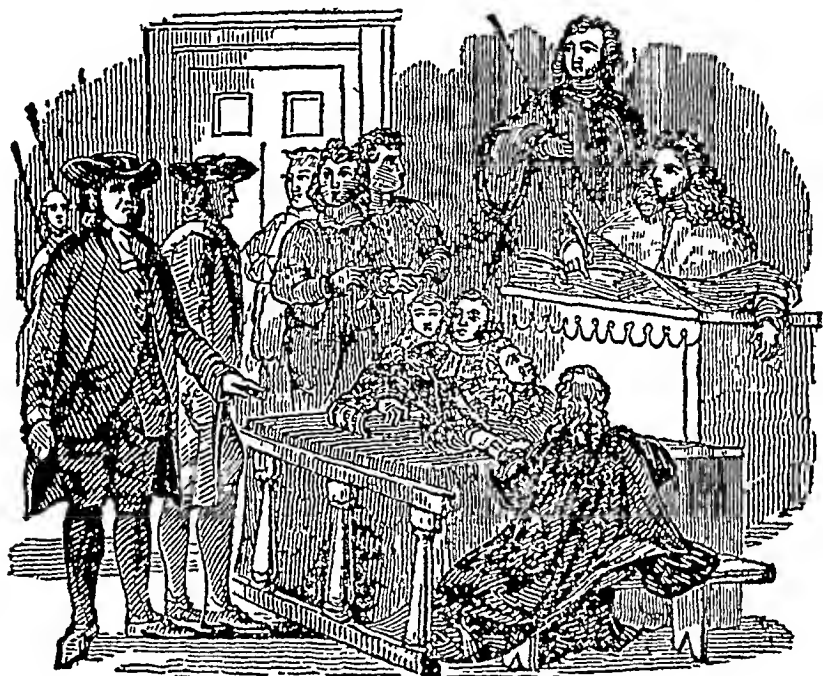
⁶⁹ She became the wife of John Turner of Tottenham.

⁷⁰ *The Friend* (Philadelphia), Vol III, p. 5.

⁷¹ The two Williams were fined 40 marks each for not taking off their hats, the mark, Sewel says, was about three Ryksdaalders

⁷² Sewel does give Penn's Latin letter of 1674 to the rulers of Emden (in an appendix to the Dutch edition of his History, and in foot-notes in his English edition) Cf Monograph Number Two (“William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania”)

Whatever may have been the intercourse, or lack of it, between Sewel and Penn before 1677, we know that in this year the two men entered upon an intimate acquaintance which ended only with the great Englishman's death forty years later. Penn, Fox, Barclay and other English leaders of Quakerism made their memorable journey to the Con-



"The Trial of Penn and Meade"

tinient in 1677 and spent three months in Holland and Germany. Sewel was present and probably participated in a modest way (though *not* as an interpreter) in the meetings for worship and organization held by the party in Amsterdam. At this time, Sewel was twenty-four, Penn nine years his senior, and Fox twenty-nine years older. On this visit, and again in 1684, Sewel acted as Fox's amanuensis and translated a number of his writings into Dutch, German and Latin. He devotes a half-dozen pages of his *History* to the visit of 1677, but takes it from Penn's published account, with only a very few touches of his own.⁷³

The story of the acquisition and founding of Pennsylvania

⁷³ *Ibid*

in 1681-82, Sewel tells in a single paragraph. The name, he says in his Dutch edition, "was as if one should call it *Pensboschland* [Penn's Woodland]"; and he takes the opportunity in connection with the grant of stating one reason for Penn's later loyalty to James II, which was to cost him so dear. "This favor of the King [Charles II]," he says, "Penn owed chiefly, I think to James, Duke of York, who as high admiral of England had promised the elder Penn on his death-bed to protect his son against the enemies who would heap evils upon his head because of his religion. This promise was loyally kept; hence it was not without reason that later when James succeeded to the throne Penn was glad to be of service to him in all that he thought would be for the benefit and advantage (*nutte en voordeele*) of the kingdom."

The great migration of 1682 is then told in eight lines, as follows: "Penn now went with a large company to America, and having viewed the land given him he founded the chief town (*hoofdstad*) *Philadelfia* and some other small towns (*stédemens*). He also bought from the Indians, in order to expand his territory,⁷⁴ so much in addition that he then possessed a district as large again, as he himself once told me, as the seven United Provinces; and the colonization increased so rapidly (*schielijk*) that within the course of a few years there were built at *Philadelfia*, which was when Penn first arrived a wild forest (*woest bosch*),⁷⁵ fully six hundred stone (*steene*)⁷⁶ houses."

But Sewel's intimacy with Penn did not ripen until the latter's next visit to Holland in 1686. One purpose of this visit of Penn was to act as a messenger from James II to William of Orange in behalf of religious toleration. But the pages of Sewel's History for these years are filled chiefly with the Quakers' sufferings and their struggle for toleration in England; and he says nothing of Penn's visit to Holland at that time.

From other sources we know, however, that Penn was in Amsterdam in 1686, and evidently talked over with Sewel the

⁷⁴ The English editions substitute for this phrase, "that he might the more peaceably enjoy the country"

⁷⁵ This phrase is omitted in the English editions

⁷⁶ The English editions have "brick"

translations into Dutch of Penn's "Epistle to the Friends of God Living in the Netherlands and Germany", his "Further . . . Account of Pennsylvania", "Information and Direction . . . for Pennsylvania", "No Cross, No Crown", and "Good Advice to the Church of England", all of which Sewel made and published in Amsterdam in that and the following year.⁷⁷

A series of six letters are extant from Sewel to Penn in 1686-87, after the latter's return to England, these relate chiefly to Sewel's translation of "No Cross, No Crown", and are filled, not only with details relating to the above translations and their publication, such as the exact meaning of words, the accuracy of literary allusions, the best means of distributing the books when published, and the like, but also with the odds and ends of the affectionate intimacy between friends. Eight more letters followed these in 1687-89, and they express their writer's deep solicitude for Penn, who was undergoing persecution on the suspicion of being a Jesuit in disguise. Against this charge, Sewel wrote and published much in Dutch and Latin, and translated at least one of Penn's writings in his own defense.⁷⁸

Sewel did not intrude often upon Penn's years of retirement after 1688, but there were some links of interest between them. In 1693, Springett Penn, then a youth of seventeen, visited the Sewel family with the object of perfecting his linguistic acquirements; and Sewel writes encouragingly of his progress to his father. After Springett's return to England, Sewel wrote him, in Latin, a kindly letter of cheer and encouragement. When Penn was restored to liberty and his former rights in England and Pennsylvania, he wrote Sewel early in 1694, and received a letter of congratulation from him, which told also of the completion of Penn's "Key Opening the Way" in both Dutch and German.

Sewel's friendship with Penn culminated in an invitation, in 1696, to remove with his family to Bristol, where Penn and his family were then living, and to become there the headmaster of a school for Friends' children. This would have

⁷⁷ Cf. Monograph Number Two.

⁷⁸ Twelve more letters in Latin which Sewel wrote to Penn between the years 1689 and 1696 are utilized in Monograph Number One.

been decidedly to his financial advantage; but his letters to Penn declining the invitation state that love of his country and the hope of being of more service to Friends there than in England constrained him to remain in Amsterdam

Sewel devotes his History during the years 1689 to 1702 to the story of the English Friends' successful struggle for religious toleration. He does not find space in it even for Penn's second visit to Pennsylvania in 1699-1701; but he gives full credit to Penn's leadership in the struggle for toleration. For example, of London Yearly Meeting's address to Queen Anne on her accession in 1702, he says. "Of those who presented this address, William Penn was the spokesman, and the Queen was pleased to speak to him in a very kind manner, and not only received the said address favorably, but after it was read to her she made the following most gracious answer: 'Mr. Penn, I am so well pleased that what I have said is to your satisfaction, and you⁷⁹ may be assured of my Protection.' " The significance of the royal favor at this time lay in the fact that a strong attempt was being made to take Pennsylvania from Penn and convert it into a Crown colony, so as to strengthen England against Louis XIV and his Indian allies.

Sewel judged this to be a good stopping-place for his History of the Quakers; for under the year 1702, he says. "Now the strength and power of their violent opposers was broken (*gekneused*) by the favor of the late King William III; and his successor, Queen Anne, with her accustomed kind-heartedness has confirmed the liberty of worship already granted by a public law [an act of Parliament] to the Quakers Behold, then, the so-called Quakers a free people and a society whose chief doctrines are formally (*rechtzinnig*) respected by the land's supreme authority. I might therefore now finish this History, as to the import of the title "⁸⁰ But Sewel evidently finds it impossible to take leave of this task which had lived with him for so many years, and he continues the story down to 1717, the year of the publication of his book in Amsterdam, and the year before the death of Wil-

⁷⁹ The English edition reads: "and you and your Friends "

⁸⁰ "The History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Quakers "

liam Penn The events recorded in these pages, however, are very meagre, and no further mention occurs in them of Penn, who was incapacitated by invalidism during a third of them.

From other sources we learn something further of Sewel himself Louis XIV's wars of aggression bore heavily in many ways upon Holland, and we find from Sewel's letters of 1710-12 that he had become financially involved, largely it would seem through extending aid to an unfortunate friend.⁸¹ By this time, too, Penn's sun was setting, and the only other connecting links between him and Sewel were literary ones. The "History of the Quakers" was now taking shape under Sewel's hand, and he had frequent occasion in it, as we have seen, to recall and record the life, character and writings of the great Quaker leader Very much to his chagrin, his Dutch translation of Penn's "Fruits of Solitude" was rejected in 1715 in favor of one made by Jan Claus. Letters which he wrote to an English Friend, Theodore Eccleston, expressed in forthright fashion his regret and displeasure Had not Penn been stricken with paralysis three years before, he would probably have turned the scales in favor of Sewel as his translator, and thus we should have had Penn's most famous literary work published in its Dutch version by the best scholar among the Friends of Holland.

Sewel's own chief work, his History of the Quakers, was completed and published in its Dutch original in 1717 Two years before this, he had received a severe shock from the reported drowning and narrow escape of his only son, who fell under a cloud of melancholy thereafter His strength gradually declined; and when Penn died, on the 30th of July, 1718, Sewel had only twenty months more to live He kept actively at work, however, and completed a new edition of his Grammar of the English and Dutch Languages, and the translation or rewriting of his History of the Quakers in English. He was obliged to correspond largely with the London Friends about certain portions of the latter to which they objected; and it was not published in London until 1722, two years after its author's death; but meanwhile, the English Friends had paid him sums of money for his great work

⁸¹ Sewel's letters to Thomas Ellwood, 1710-1712 (Monograph Number One)

which made his last years comfortable and provided a fund for the benefit of his children.⁸²

One of the much-to-be-regretted omissions from Sewel's History is an account of the last days and character of William Penn. Had Penn's death occurred before Sewel closed his History, he would doubtless have given us concerning his great friend and Quakerism's great leader one of the masterly character-sketches which enrich his book when he records the death and last words of many a lesser Quaker worthy.

HERMAN VAN LIL'S BIOGRAPHY OF PENN

A century after Sewel, his fellow-Hollander, Herman Van Lil, wrote a Life of William Penn in two volumes, of 730 pages⁸³ This was indeed a full-length portrait of him, and it was compiled, as its author claimed on his title-page, from authentic sources. The authors whom he quotes are Croese, Besse, Raynal, Clarkson, and Proud⁸⁴ He leans very heavily upon Proud for Pennsylvania affairs and most heavily of all upon Clarkson, whose two volumes on Penn had been published only a half-dozen years before. Many of his pages, in fact, are translations or paraphrases of Clarkson. His volumes have only one reference to Sewel, whom he calls *William*, and merely quotes Clarkson's reference to him as "a learned man who wrote a fine (*schoon*) book about the Quakers." He follows Clarkson in mentioning him in connection with Penn's visit to Amsterdam in 1686 when, he says, Sewel was busy translating "No Cross, No Crown", and when Penn made his headquarters at his house, visited from there the other Friends of Amsterdam, and preached frequent sermons. It is even possible that Van Lil never saw Sewel's History; if he did, he has done scant justice to his Dutch Quaker predecessor in the field of Quaker biography and history.

⁸² Monograph Number One

⁸³ „Het Leven, de Gevoelens en Lotgevallen van William Penn, beroemd Kwaker, en Stichter van Pennsylvanien, uit echte Bronnen verzameld", Amsterdam, J C Sepp en Zoon, 1st Vol = 1820, 2nd. Vol = 1825, 8vo 287 + 443 pages

⁸⁴ His authorities for ecclesiastical history are Hamelsveld, Mosheim and Hurd, and for English law, Blackstone

HET LEVEN, DE GEVOELEN
EN LOTGEVALLEN

V A N

WILLIAM PENN,

BEROEMD KWAKER, EN STICHTER

V A N

Pennsylvania;

UIT ECHTE BRONNEN VERZAMELD



door

HERMAN VAN LIL,

Predikant te *Schelluyk* en het *Goy*.

EERSTE DEEL



TE AMSTERDAM, BIJ

J C SEPP en Zoon,

1820.

Van Lil was a Dutch Reformed pastor at Scalkwijk (*Schalkwijk*) and The Goi (*Het Goij*), a town and district near Utrecht. This at least was his residence when his first volume was published in 1820, but when the second was issued in 1825, he was pastor at Maasdam, a town near Rotterdam.

His reasons for writing a biography of Penn he states to be the fact that a long time before he had erected a memorial (*eerzuil*) to Penn in his heart; and that as far as he knew there was no other biography of Penn in the Dutch language.

A Hollander himself, we might hope from him some additional details about Quakerism in Holland; but as with other Dutch writers on Quakerism, we are disappointed. Of Penn's mother, he says that she was the daughter of John Jasper, a merchant in Rotterdam. Penn's alleged duel in Paris is cited from Croese, with a further reference to the "Anecdotes Sentimentales" of Baronness de Montolieu.⁸⁵ His journey to Holland and Germany in 1671 is dismissed with the remark that "we know really nothing about it, other than that he was entirely successful in his purpose, namely, to spread the teachings of the Brotherhood everywhere." The account of Penn's journey in 1677 is taken bodily from Penn's own "Travails", which is mentioned under the year 1694, but is not acknowledged as the biographer's source-book. Van Lil tells of Penn's visit to Noordwijk, but fails to recognize this place under Penn's spelling of "Wouderwick." Penn's journey to Holland in 1686, Van Lil briefly records, saying that he had more than one interview with William of Orange at The Hague; but admitting that he knew of no other particulars of Penn's journey in Germany this year than is mentioned in one of his letters to a Friend in America, namely, that "he had had a blessed service for the Lord."

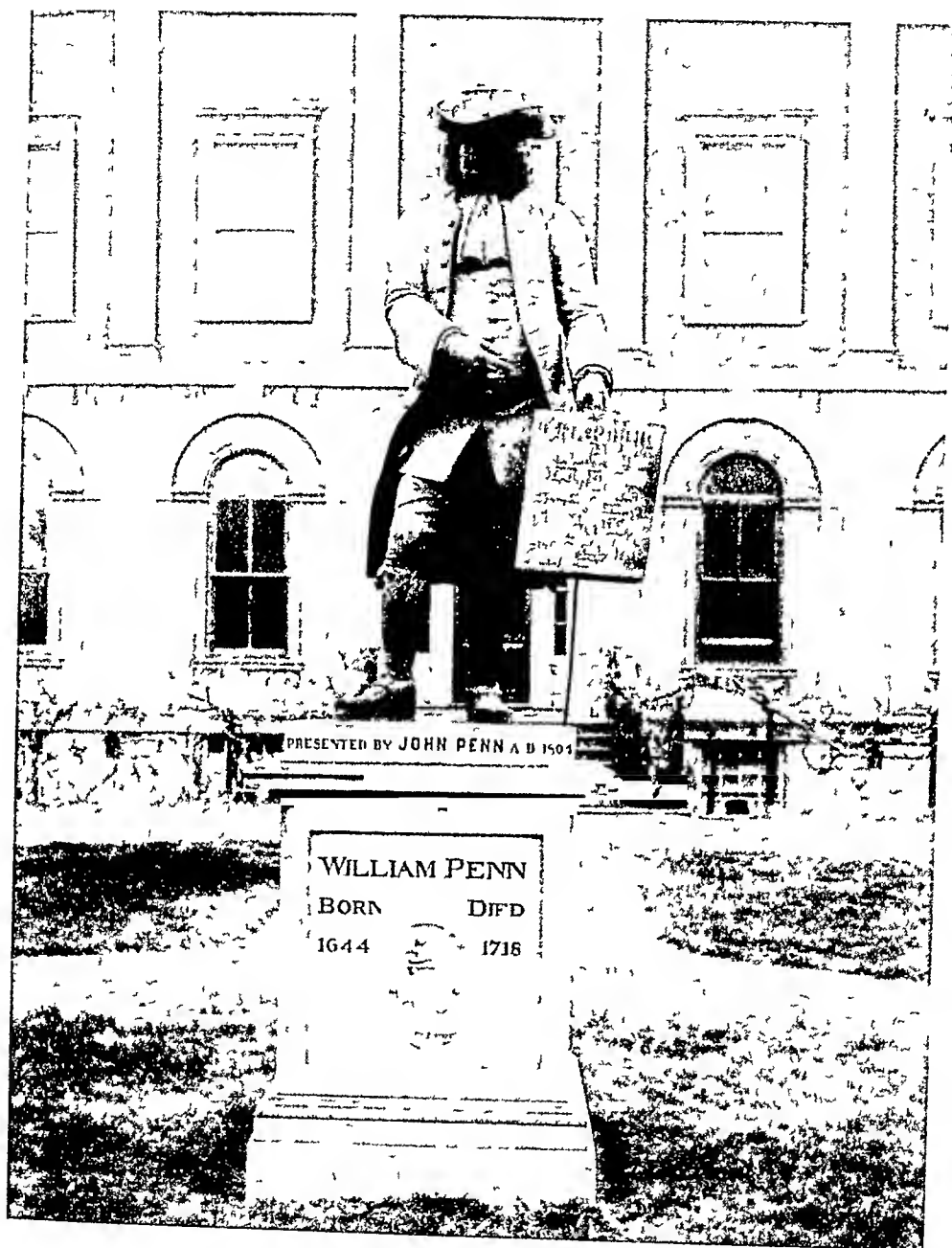
Large portions of Van Lil's volumes are devoted to Penn's connection with Pennsylvania and the Indians, and he tells of such incidents as "the sky-blue sash", which Penn wore in his interview with the Indians at Coaquannoc, and its ownership by Thomas Kett of Seetingh-hall near Norwich; the *olm-boom*, under which "the treaty" was made at Shacka-

⁸⁵ Dutch translation, Leyden, 1819 ("Belangrijke Verhalen")

maxon, and its subsequent fate; Penn's "bold but lucky (*stout, maar gelukkig*) supposition", later confirmed by Captain Cook and others (!), that the Indians were the descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel; and a statue of Penn once owned by Lord "Lede-spencer" and standing in Van Lil's time in the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital (*Gasthuis*) in Philadelphia.⁸⁶

There are many references to and quotations from Penn's writings in Van Lil's Life, and a list of these (apparently running to more than seventy) is promised for the second volume; but it was not included in it. The preface to "Fruits of Solitude" is largely quoted, and is followed by the comment: "Pious, trustful with good reason, but also modest Penn! Who is there to take his place?" Only a page and a half are devoted to the "Plan for the Peace of Europe", and a brief reference to the proposed Congress or Diet is made, with the remark that it is unnecessary to write more about it. "Since it contains nothing new for our time", the biographer of 1820 says, "we will not dwell upon it, but out of respect for its author we will make room for a reference to it"!

⁸⁶ Clarkson (I, 306) concludes his defense of Penn against Benjamin Franklin's criticism, by mentioning numerous evidences of esteem for Pennsylvania's founder, among them this statue, to which he refers as follows "When the statue of William Penn, already mentioned to have been erected to his memory at the seat of the late Lord Le Despencer, was removed to Philadelphia, the citizens received it with joy. They restored the pedestal, and, at the expense of many hundred pounds, put it up, and inclosed it by a proper railing on the lawn on the south side of the Pennsylvania Hospital, where it now stands as a monument of their gratitude, and, through their zeal on the occasion, as emblematical of that of the whole province." Cf *infra*, p. 119



Penn's Statue, Pennsylvania Hospital

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST LATIN LIFE OF WILLIAM PENN

Twenty-two years before Willem Sewel's classic history of the Quakers was published in Dutch, a fellow-Hollander, Gerardus Croesius, or Gerard Kroes,⁸⁷ published his Quaker History.⁸⁸ This was written in Latin, and gave to Quakerism its first introduction to the world of learning on the Continent. A second edition of it appeared the next year in Latin,⁸⁹ and an edition in English at the same time⁹⁰ A German translation of it was published in Berlin 1696 also; but this was the end of the book's career, for Sewel's History entirely superseded it.

This supersession was well deserved and poetic justice, for Sewel had supplied his predecessor with a large part of his material, and Croese's accuracy and impartiality left much to be desired. A series of twelve letters from Sewel to Croese, written in Latin between 1692 and 1697 are extant, and they reveal to what a large extent Croese's History was based on the materials supplied by Sewel. Two of these letters were written to Croese after the publication of his book, and Sewel tells him quite frankly of his amazement and displeasure in reading it.⁹¹

When Sewel's own History appeared, he referred to Croese's book in his Preface as follows "Though the author got the chief contents thereof from me, yet that relation which he gives of the rise and progress of the Quakers is very defective (*onvolkomen*)"

Croese's biographical references to Penn were evidently based on materials procured largely from Sewel, but worked up in very different form and spirit. As with Sewel, Croese's

⁸⁷ His name is usually spelled Croese in English, and pronounced as if it were spelled *Croesy*

⁸⁸ „Historia Quakeriana”, Amstelodami, apud Henricum & Viduam Theodori Boom, 1695, 12mo, 16+582 pages

⁸⁹ Also in Amsterdam, 1696, 12mo, 580+32 pages

⁹⁰ London, John Dunton, 1696, 12mo, 465+53 pages

⁹¹ Monograph Number One

introduction of Penn in his History occurs about two-fifths of the way through, after an introduction of Robert Barclay.

Croese's first reference to him is an appreciative one, as follows. "Guilielmus Pennus, a man very famous in all England and very well known among foreigners who are not ignorant of English affairs. By his accession to the Quakers and by his zeal (*studio*), counsel, assistance and works in their behalf, their affairs were much advanced and amplified,—not suddenly and hastily but gradually and slowly."

He then promises, as is his "custom from the beginning in describing these great men," to give an account of Penn's birth (*ortu*) and education, as well as of "the occasion of his conversion to that sect of men, his love and diligence for it; and finally to add a note on his character and habits (*ingenio ac moribq*)."

He accordingly begins with a reference to Penn's father, as "a prudent and solid man, who in spite of the political distractions and dissensions surrounding him and in accordance with his holy religion cherished a faith in his fellow-men" The admiral, "regarding his son as not born to him but to his country and to the public service, designed him not for promoting his own private affairs but for devoting his life in a more illustrious way (*insignioris*) to advancing the public welfare. He therefore took care to have him trained in all divine and human learning."

Penn's Oxford training is dismissed in a single sentence, as an opportunity for "exercising his mind among noble and wealthy youths in the study of the arts and sciences" Another sentence tells of the visit to Paris and the royal court, and of "the duel" in which "he proved himself to be, in spite of his youth, both of great bravery and of great self-control; for he vigorously defended his own life against the sword of his assailant and duellist (*gladiatore*), and spared the life of the latter when he could have killed him."

Then follows mention of Penn's frequenting of Quaker meetings in Ireland; his sympathetic study of Quakerism while in prison there; his father's amazement and exasperation at the religious extravagances of this, the only son and hope of his parents, who paid them otherwise the utmost possible obedience and reverence, but who in this matter had

GERARDI CROESI
HISTORIA
QUAKERIANA,

Sive

De vulgò dictis QUAKERIS,
Ab ortu illorum usque ad recens
natum schisma,

LIBRI III.

In quibus præsertim agitur de ipso-
rum præcipuis antecessoribus, & dogmatis
(ut & similibus placitis aliorum hoc
tempore) factisque, ac casibus,
memorabilibus



AMSTELODAMI,
Apud HENRICUM & Viduam
THEODORI BOOM. 1695.

acted as if he were the shame (*dehonestamentum*) of his parents and become the disgrace (*dedecus*) of his family through all future ages.

If such were really the extent of his father's imaginings, it is small wonder that Croese proceeds to detail the punishments visited upon him, namely, violent treatment in words and deeds, the contumely, contempt and enmity of his father's servants, and of his former associates, the courtiers and officials with whom he had been brought up (*enutritus*) on a familiar footing, and also of the clergymen who had formerly cherished for him an especial regard (*impense carum*)

Croese's explanation of how he was enabled to bear up against all these evils is the two-fold one of "integrity of life and constancy of mind and body." With these two supports, he was able to bring his father to receive him again into favor to as great an extent as he had been alienated from him, and not only did he restore and comfort his humiliated and afflicted son, but made him in his will the heir of all his wealth and privileges (*ditio numque*), even going so far as to praise (*collaudaret*) his singular piety and great fortitude of mind, and to exhort him to persist steadfastly therein.

Croese devotes another page to recording the last illness and dying words of the admiral, and lays special stress upon the promise which he exacted from the Duke of York and Charles II to befriend his son who had already suffered so much. This promise was given by the royal brothers, he says, because of the admiral's service to the monarchy, and they kept it as faithfully as they could, although not always able to save Penn at times from arrest and imprisonment. The admiral's dying words, Croese thinks, reveal with hardly any uncertainty the kind and degree of the opinion and affection cherished by the dying old man [he was only forty-nine!] for the Quakers.

Turning to William Penn himself, Croese leaves it to others, especially the Quakers, to estimate his character and disposition, his oratorical ability, his facility in those foreign languages which are usual at least among men uncommonly educated, his inner qualities, and the habits of his life. He suggests that there was a difference of opinion on these

matters, but concludes that even though his own pen should be silent regarding them, Penn's writings proclaim him to be the most eminent among all the Quakers.

Here follows a paragraph of high praise for Penn's ability to appeal in his writings to both learned and unlearned; while as a preacher, Croese says, he was esteemed by the Quakers the most perfect of them all. His religious opinions were acknowledged by the rest of the Quakers to be entirely consonant with their own; but he was unique in that he held much more lightly than the others those things which pertain to the concept (*notitiam*) of divine and sacred things. Hence, he devoted himself chiefly to opposing the attempt to force and constrain men's consciences in religious matters,—than which, Croese adds, there can be no policy more fierce and foul (*feritas ac foeditas*).

Penn's toleration extended so far, Croese says, as to permit not only the free exercise of religion, but also the eligibility to public office of all men, at least of all Christians; and he complains that his views of religious liberty included even the Socinians, “with their wanton little tricks (*lepidis dolis*)”, and the Papists, to whose intolerance of all religions, including the Quakers', and their bitter and bloody persecutions Croese devotes a paragraph to denouncing⁹² Even Penn, he is evidently glad to say, was so well aware of the temper of the Socinians and Papists that he was accustomed to remark that the Quakers had reason to fear them most of all, and that they would be the last of all in controversy with them after they had vanquished all other religions

At this point, Croese advances a theory in regard to the liberality or latitudinarianism of Penn's religious views which is as novel as it is startling. Penn's century, like part of the preceding one, saw an earnest effort on the part of a small minority of far-sighted and premature thinkers to work out some form of Christian unity which should include all Christian faiths within a single fold, but at the same time admit of complete religious liberty. This was called at various times “Comprehension”; and it is both new and singularly interesting to find Croese describing Penn as one of the “Comprehenders.”

⁹² This denunciation was evidently regarded by the English translator or publisher as so bitter that it was omitted in the English edition of Croese's History

This characterization of their great leader must have been very obnoxious to his Quaker contemporaries, who had before their eyes in 1696, when Penn had been again restored to their favor, the quaint English translation of Croese's words as follows:

“It seems *Penn* had a design to shew himself an Abbettor of all Religions whatsoever, or to encourage that opinion of him, which then possess'd every Mans mind, that he was deceitful, and in his heart a Socinian, or (as others believ'd) that he was a Papist, and not only so but a Jesuit. The *Quakers* did not agree with *Penn*, about these Libertine Principles. His notions of the Christian faith was, that in order to the maintaining of that, there was no more necessary than in general to believe the Scriptures, and love them as the word of God; and believe all the *fundamental Articles* contain'd in the same By these *fundamental Articles* (a term much in use among Divines) he understood such propositions as are expressly and in explicit terms deliver'd in the Scriptures; or so evidently attested by them, that all Men who are honest and sincere-minded, cannot but discern and comprehend the meaning of them. Which being laid down for a Principle, he thought that whoever gave due respect and reverence to the Scriptures, and acknowledg'd Jesus Christ for the Saviour of the World, might be truly accounted a Christian; and that all such Christians both may, and should agree and write [? unite ?] among themselves.

“For which end he Recommended to all Christians, to write a general Concession [confession ?] of their common faith, consisting only of some few general, necessary and plain truths deliver'd in Scripture terms; but it is easy for any Man to Conjecture what effect such a proposal would have had. Moreover, he reason'd further after this manner; that the most part of Christians that imagin'd to themselves, that they knew any thing, bended all their faculties only upon the Speculation and Contemplation of what they knew, whereas a speculative life is not so becoming and necessary for a Christian, as an active and practical life is, and that all manner of knowledge is but a meer shadow that do's not tend to action, a solitary and wandring Planet, that produces no fruit for the good of the publick. Where [Wherefore ?] he chiefly applied himself to the study of such Sciences as

treat of the manners of Men, what vices are to be eschew'd, and what duties towards God and Man are incumbent upon us; and approv'd mightily the practice of the ancient Christian in the first Ages after Christ, who made moral Philosophers teachers and Masters to their Christian youths; and who accounted none fit to be a Doctor among them, who was not instructed in the Philosophy of the *Gentiles*, as being the best rule and method of living. He was very serviceable to the *Quakers* by his Writings. . . . ; but withal not forgetting to plead for the liberty and admission to publick offices, of other Sectaries, especially the Papists, insomuch that he was suspected to be one of their Gang, and at last came to be envy'd and hated by the *Quakers* on that account But he was so bent and eager for this liberty of Conscience, that he would have none professing the Name of Christ excluded from the same." . . .

It is true that in or about the year 1672, when Penn was a young man of twenty-eight, he had published a tract, anonymously, entitled "The Proposed Comprehension, Soberly and not Unseasonably considered." This was written in response to Charles II's declaration of indulgence issued the same year, and was doubtless the basis of Croese's theory of a quarter-century later; but his interpretation of it was anathema to Penn and his fellow-Quakers⁹³

The idea of a "comprehension" of all Protestants within a single Church of England had been prevalent ever since the Protestant Revolution in Elizabeth's time To some, this idea of Church Unity meant Uniformity and the enforcement of Conformity with the Anglican view of the church To others, it meant the triumph of Presbyterianism in church and state. To some of the Dissenters, it meant a church so reformed and so broad that it could accommodate all Protestant sects

Various attempts by Crown and Parliament had been made to establish comprehension in accordance with one or other of these interpretations of it Charles II, determined to give Catholicism a chance to survive and flourish, and perhaps finally to reunite Englishmen in the Church of Rome,

⁹³ It was reprinted in the first edition of his "Works" in 1726, but without comment by his first biographer, and such later Quaker biographers as Janney (1852) and Graham (1916) make no reference to it Cf Monograph Number Two

tried to advance towards comprehension by issuing on several occasions during his reign declarations of indulgence; and when these were resisted by his Protestant subjects as an attempt to subordinate the power of parliament to the sus-



"Penn and Charles II"

pensory power of the crown, he tried to persuade parliament itself to enact his declaration into a statute. This two-fold attempt was made in 1672-73, and the discussion of it brought forth Penn's pamphlet.

To the Quakers, extreme Dissenters as they were, comprehension meant, first of all, complete religious liberty. In their

eyes, this divine right of men transcended in importance the political struggle between the advocates respectively of the rights of parliament and of the royal prerogative. Indeed, even the prevalent suspicion which they too probably shared that Charles II and Louis XIV were planning to unite English and French financial and military forces, first against Protestant Holland and then against Protestant England, seemed to the Quakers of less importance than the right of religious liberty. With that established, other problems, religious, political and diplomatic, would be advanced a long way toward their right solution. It was this difference in view-point or in emphasis that caused the Quakers to be charged with pro-Catholicism, pro-Franceism, and even pro-atheism.

Penn in his tract on the proposed comprehension of 1672-73 advocated entire liberty of conscience for individual Englishmen. He based this on the fundamental religious ground of God's impartial goodness to all men. "God affords his refreshing Sun to all", he writes, "the Dung-hill is no more excepted than the most delightful Plain, and his Rain falls alike both upon the Just and Unjust. . . . Christians themselves have no more peculiar Privilege in the Natural Benefits of Heaven than Turks or Indians. Would it not then be strange that Infidels themselves, much less any Sort of Christians, should be deprived of Natural Privileges for meer *Opinion* by those who pretend to be the Best Servants of that God who shows them quite another Example by the Universality of his Goodness as Creator . . . ?"

As to the proposed exclusion of the Quakers from comprehension, he rejects the doctrinal argument that they are "un-orthodox", because *all* claim to be orthodox, *all* claim to be acting on conscience. He rejects the ecclesiastical reason for their exclusion that they differ in fundamentals, and argues that this is a far more conscientious difference than that based on "meer trifles, minute and trivial matters", and that, consequently, such difference should be much more respected and tolerated. The political reason for excluding the Quakers, namely, that they were lawless and treasonable, he flatly contradicts. "We do aver, and make it appear," he writes, "that there is no Party more Quiet, Subject, Indus-

trious, and in the Bottom of their very Souls, greater Lovers of the Good Old *English* Government and Prosperity of these Kingdoms among the Comprehended than, for ought we yet see, may be found among those who are like to be unkindly Excluded."

As to Church Unity in the ecclesiastical sense of including all Christian sects within a national State-Church like that of the Church of England, Penn fully shared the antipathy to it of the Quakers and of most other Puritans and Dissenters. Indeed, it may even be that at this early period of his life, Penn may have shared the enthusiastic expectation which characterized the spring-tide of Quakerism that it would sometime sweep all Englishmen and all the rest of humanity into a world-wide "Comprehension" on the basis of Quaker belief and practice.

Taking up Penn's specific work for the Quakers, Croese relates that from the time of his conversion he was very serviceable to them by his writings, his wealth and his favor with the king "And he was as willing as he was able to work for them, being almost always with his Quakers, and striving his utmost to promote their welfare, defending them against harm, and devoting himself so entirely to them that he appeared to be more solicitous for them than for himself."

Writing of Penn's first controversy with the Presbyterians and his confutation of their three doctrines concerning the trinity, salvation by faith alone without works, and the imputation of righteousness, Croese justifies his use of these words as being customary with Penn himself and other writers in English. The imprisonment which followed was utilized, Croese says, in writing *Non sine cruce corona* ("No Cross, No Crown"), "a work treating not of the articles of religion but of daily life, not void of realities or teeming and swollen with words, but abounding in matter and solid in phrase and sentences, greatly excelling (*praestantissimum*) in all the adornments of oratory, so that even his enemies in their attacks upon him praise its learning and value, even when denying any respect for him."

Released from prison by King Charles, he was also saved by him from an attempt on the part of those who desired to seize and confiscate his estates in England and Ireland so as

to clip his wings (*Penno pennae penitus*⁹⁴) and prevent them from growing again. The Penn-Mead Trial fills a half-dozen animated pages, half of which quote Penn's speech in defence. The intimacy between the Quaker and King James II is evidently a source of wonder to Croese, who describes in detail the royal favor shown him and through him to the other Quakers. The king treated him with great familiarity, with such love as princes seldom reveal, and as if he were his best and most intimate friend. He granted him many audiences in private, compelling the nobles to wait in the ante-chamber, vastly to their chagrin and enmity. Not only the Quakers, but other suitors for the king's favor and mercy, flocked to Penn's house in throngs of two hundred and more at a time. Despite the rumor that he was growing very wealthy from the bribes or fees which these supplicants paid him, Croese dismisses it as untrue and asserts on the other hand that he paid for most of the expenses connected with the business out of his own pocket.⁹⁴

Both Protestants and Quakers, however, turned against him, the former believing that he was in league with James and the Jesuits to restore despotism and Catholicism, the latter resenting his being so much encumbered with worldly affairs as to neglect those of the spirit, and fearing lest a bloody Catholic persecution might fall first of all upon themselves. The defence of his conduct which Penn published, Croese concludes, must be believed if the words of Man may ever be believed; and the Quakers accepted it as the entire truth, praised him as highly as they had done before the temporary break, and again owned him as one of their very own, while leaving him in his unique situation and course of conduct.

When William III came to the throne, Croese depicts Penn as having lost the royal favor, as being examined on the charge of Jacobitism, and stoutly asserting his love, though not his political allegiance to the fallen king, his former friend and benefactor, and as being driven into a voluntary exile. The two literary fruits of this retirement, in 1693, he mentions as being a treatise on the Solitary Life and a Key

⁹⁴ This account may nevertheless have given Macaulay the cue for his malicious charges of a century and a half later



King James II

to understanding the articles of the Quaker faith His "Essay towards . . the Peace of Europe", first published anonymously in this year, Croese does not mention.

The story of Pennsylvania Croese defers chronologically and connects it with a narrative of Quakerism in New England He then devotes forty pages to it, but fills thirty-three of these with an account of the defection of George Keith His excuse for this lack of historical perspective is that it was "a very great and memorable dissension which has occurred among the Quakers in those parts, which is known to but few, and whose end is still uncertain " The details of the Keithian schism in both Pennsylvania and England, Croese appears to gloat upon; and it may be suspected that this Dutch Reformed clerical opponent of Quakerism hoped that it might spell the death-warrant of the despised but dangerous religion. His account was a sharp thorn in the side of the English Quakers, who added ten pages of rebuttal to his English edition of the next year; but in that edition there appeared also a letter of twenty-four pages from George Keith! The Quakers, however, were given the last word.

Relating the founding of Pennsylvania itself, Croese tells of a part of America called *Pensilvania* which had been under the propriety and dominion of William Penn [the father] from whom it took its name, but which became vacant on his death and descended to his son William, that foremost and most celebrated patron of the Quaker clan Of the government Penn established there, Croese merely says that he ordered all things according to his own pleasure (*suæ animi sententia*) and appointed its rulers and administrators according to his own will. He is struck, however, with Penn's novelty of inviting all the American barbarians, and all men everywhere in whom there was the seed, desire and zeal of religion, honesty and a tranquil life, to come and settle among his Quaker colonists, promising them if they behaved well equal advantages and religious liberty.

The home-loving author is amazed by the number of Quakers and non-Quakers who came from other parts of America, England, the Palatinate, and even from his own beloved Holland, to accept Penn's invitation A partial explanation of this, he thinks, was the most damnable (*damnosissimum*) war between France and the English and their

German allies, "which is still raging"; and also that the emigrants to Pennsylvania had nothing of their own to lose at home, and settled themselves in those remote parts of the world hoping for a blessing from Heaven and a bettering of their condition: for seldom do those that have any estate or expectation of one in their own country depart from it for foreign lands, leaving behind them their friends and relatives. Besides the report of the abundance of all good things in America, the good repute of Penn himself was influential, Croese adds; for, a little while before the present war [*i.e.* in 1686], Penn had travelled in Holland and the Rhineland spreading his religion and his invitation to settlers for Pennsylvania.

Into this earthly paradise, Croese proceeds to introduce self-seeking and hypocritical Quakers and pretended Quakers who secured their election to public office and began a mal-administration of affairs, even extending to the exaction of a semi-oath, such as "I speak and promise in the presence of God", or "As true as God is in heaven",—similar to the Jewish oath of "As God liveth" These people, too, unfit to become even members of the Society of Friends, began to usurp the ministry in their meetings for worship.

From such conditions, there naturally arose bitter dissensions which Croese prophesied would induce the Indians or other foreign foes to fall upon them and put an end to their government. This danger, he thought, was especially imminent because the wars between the French and English were carried across the Atlantic, and because the Quakers, although they know well enough how to fight with words, will have nothing to do with war or armies or military training, either for defense or offense. Hence they might soon be overwhelmed, easily and quietly, without any danger at all to their invaders. Fortunately, Croese thinks, William III had now sent them over a governor, a member of the Anglican Church, with orders that if necessity arose he should provide for their defense against any armed attack in a better way than they would defend themselves.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Pennsylvania had been annexed by the crown in March, 1692, but was restored to Penn in August, 1694, the year before Croese's book was published

Croese devotes a small portion of his book to Quaker events outside of England, in other places than Pennsylvania, and in relating those connected with Holland and Germany, he again comes across the footsteps of Penn. Penn's journey, in company with Fox, Barclay and other Quaker leaders to the Continent in 1677, is briefly mentioned, but is dismissed with the remark that "there was nothing worth remembering done there by these men", except Barclay's visit to the peace conference at Nimeguen and Penn's debate in Amsterdam with Galemus Abrahamsz, a physician and a preacher among the Socinian Mennonites

Of this debate, Croese says. "Penn, who in accordance with the manner of Englishmen, usually spoke nothing unless premeditated and in a restrained and gentle tone of voice, showed on this occasion that when he so desired he was not lacking in the art of responding extemporaneously to the impulsive and copious discourse of others. But Abrahams so abounded in a multitude of words that he did not arrive at the heart of the dispute; and when he was unable to marshall real arguments, he either ingeniously [*? disingenuously, ingemose*] declined to answer, or resorted to jest or chatter (*joco aut strepitu*) Hence the debate ended in the same way as most such disputations" Of Penn's visit to the Labadists in Friesland in the same year, Croese remarks that he visited them as "the most eligible (*electissimus*) man among the Quakers, and one of such spirit and wit (*animo atque ingenio*) that he was willing and able to contend with all adversaries", but, he adds, "the result was the same", that is, failure.⁹⁶

Referring to Penn's alleged visit to the Princess Mary of England, the wife of William III of Orange, and later to become Queen Mary II,⁹⁷ Croese records that at first the princess suspected him of being either a Jesuit, or an emissary of his king [James II?] sent out to bribe other people and their rulers But Penn discarded all the polished artificialities and courtly graces which his former disposition,

⁹⁶ Monograph Number Two, pp 88-94

⁹⁷ This visit, if made at all, must have been on Penn's journey in 1686, and not in 1677, for Mary was not married to William until 1678 (*Ibid*, pp 56f)

education and usage would have admitted of, and addressed her very simply and gravely, concluding with the request that he might preach a sermon to her. To which the princess, in order to be quickly rid of him, replied that she had very good preachers (*concionatores*) of her own whom he might hear; that among these was a worthy neighboring clergyman, named David Flud à Giffen, gifted in various ways and at present pastor at Dordrecht. Croese adds the statement that this clergyman was very well known to himself, and indeed one of his own best friends. Which statement causes the reader to surmise that Croese's account of the interview between Penn and the princess was prejudiced by his personal and professional feelings. Croese does conclude his account of this otherwise unknown interview with the friendly statement that Penn took the reply of the princess in the nature of a civil refusal, and that then with a cheerful countenance and courteous words (*hilaris vultu et blandis verbis*) he bade her a hearty farewell (*plurimum salvere jubet*).

Penn's own book of "Travails", giving a long and very detailed account of his journey of 1677, had been published and reprinted in 1694, the year before Croese's book appeared. But there is little evidence that Croese knew or made use of it; and certainly the two accounts differ vastly in substance and spirit from each other. The persecution of the Quakers at Emden, in Friesland, Penn's protest to its magistrates, and his journey in the Rhineland in 1677, Croese briefly records. But instead of following closely Penn's long account of the latter, he gives but few details of it and says that Penn, Barclay and Keith being ignorant of German, took some of the natives along with them, but accomplished nothing worthy of mention.

Much more than in Penn's visit to the Rhineland, Croese was interested in the German Pietists to whom Penn made his religious appeal. But after giving an extended account of them, he does recognize the potency of Penn's later call to them to "come to Pennsylvania." It is upon this note that Croese ends his story of the Quaker missionary journeys into Holland and Germany; and there is no further reference in his History to William Penn.



PRINCESS MARY

From an etching by A. Mongin, in Hemer's Portfolio of Art, of a picture by Sir P. Lely at Hampton Court

CHAPTER V

PENN AND THE QUAKERS IN GERMAN LITERATURE

Aside from the propagandist and controversial literature which the Quakers themselves and their opponents began to publish in German a score of years before Penn's visit of 1677, there appears to have been no historical account of Quakerism distributed in Germany before Gerard Croese's *Historia Quakeriana* of 1695.⁹⁸ This book became well known to German scholars and appears to have been the chief stimulus to their writing of encyclopaedic accounts of the rise and beliefs of the Quakers.

The first of these accounts was that of Gottfried (or Gottfrid) Arnold, of Saxony, whose epoch-making church histories were written in 1696 and 1699, when their author was about thirty years of age. Born twenty-two years after Penn, Arnold died four years before him. His "Impartial History of Churches and Heretics"⁹⁹ raised a storm of literary denunciation on the part of the orthodox defenders of the church and of its stereotyped histories. Arnold's first volume, which was published in 1700, included an account of the *Quackern*. This account is quite an extensive one,¹⁰⁰ and cites as reference fifty-seven English, Dutch, Latin and German treatises. Among the authors of these are nineteen Quakers, and a score of anti-Quakers, especially Gerard Croese whose Latin history had recently appeared in

⁹⁸ The Latin original, published in Amsterdam, a German translation was published in Berlin, in 1696.

⁹⁹ „Unparteyische Kirchen =und Ketzer=Historie Vom Anfang des Neuen Testaments Biss auff das Jahr Christi 1688“, Franckfurt am Mayn/bey Thomas Fritsch Im Jahr 1700, folio, 2 columns on each page, Vol I Part I, 411 pp, Part II, 695 pp. The year after Arnold's death (1715), there was published by the same publisher a Continuation and Illustration, Or Third and Fourth Part of his history (Gottfrid Arnolds Fortsetzung und Erlautering Oder Dritten und Vierdter Theil Kirchen =und Ketzer=Historie), folio, 2 columns on each page, Vol II Part III=pp 1-280, Part IV=pp 281-401, with *Register* or Index.

¹⁰⁰ Part II, Chapter XX, pp 652-679 (two columns each), 67 paragraphs, the reference to Penn is in paragraph 10, p 656.

German translation. Sewel's history was not published until a score of years later; but Arnold cites his preface to Steven Crisp's "Way to the Kingdom of Heaven", which appeared in Sewel's Dutch translation in 1695.

George Fox, der *Schuhster*, plays but small part in Arnold's narrative; but the alleged pre-Foxian origins of Quakerism are mentioned, from Edmund Dickinson's "heathen priests of 3,000 years ago", down through Tauler, à Kempis, the "German Theology", Anabaptists, Ranters, Seekers (*Quaestionisten*), Brownists and Independents. A sketch of the familiar story of the spread of Quakerism in England, Scotland, Ireland, the West Indies and New England includes references to its attempts to get a foothold in Holland and Germany. From this brief historical background, Arnold turns to a discussion of Quaker and anti-Quaker literature, with the object of portraying the religious beliefs and social practices of the strange new society which would not even call itself a church.

Included in this discussion appear "the scholarly W. Pen the Younger's" Truth Exalted (in Dutch), Call to Christendom (in German), Epistle to Emden (in Latin), A Tender Visitation (in German), and To all . . . separated from the visible Sects (in Dutch). But beyond these literary products, Penn and Pennsylvania had but little interest for Arnold. He merely says of them that after his father's death, Penn the Younger, in 1682, founded Pennsylvania and also a new city, Philadelphia, invited in the Indians (*Barbaren*) and converted many of them to Christianity. Also that after he had arranged everything in his province to his liking (*gut-duncken*), a variety of people (*unterschiedliche*) emigrated thither from Germany. This he states on the authority of Croese, to whom he evidently leaves the rest of the story.

Another contemporary of Penn was known as Johannes Groningius (or Johann Groning), who published his monumental works in Hamburg, but may have come originally from Groningen in the Netherlands. One of his books, in German, is entitled a "History of present-day Religions,"¹⁰¹ and was published in Hamburg in 1702. The seventh chapter

¹⁰¹ Johan Groningii, J U D „Historie der heutigen Religionen“

Gottfrid Arnolds

Unparteyische

Kirchen- und Ketzer-

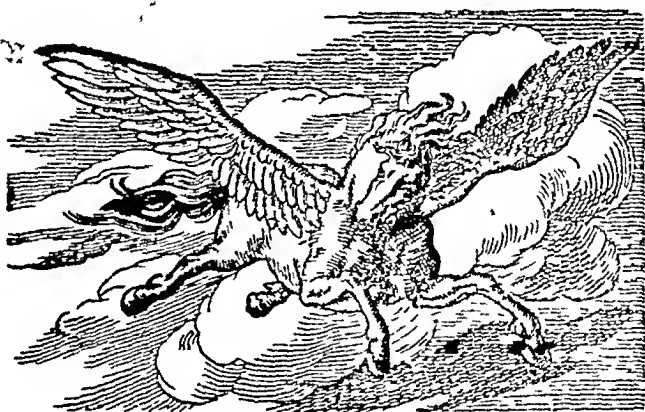
Historie/

Vom Anfang des Neuen Testaments

Bis auff das Jahr Christi 1688.

Mit Königl. Polnischen/ Chursächsischen und Churfürstl.
Brandenburgischen

PRIVILEGIIS



Frankfurt am Mayn/

bey Thomas Breitisch.

Am Jahr 1700.

of this book is on Religions in England, and although it mentions the Quakers first in a list of sectarians, it merely classes them with the Anabaptists and dismisses them with the single statement that "there are a large number of them in England" The next chapter on Religions in Holland devotes a few sentences to the Dutch Quakers, stating among other alleged facts that "they are not separated here into various sects, as is the case in England and Pennsylvania in the West Indies"(1) Gerard Croese's *Historia Quakeriana*, 1696, is cited by the author as the best account of Quakerism,¹⁰² but there is no mention of William Penn

Two years later, in 1704, there appeared in Leipzig the first genuine German encyclopaedia.¹⁰³ It was edited by the rector of a Saxon "gymnasium", Johann Hubner, and enlisted the aid of more than three hundred scholars Hubner's own treatises on the Bible and on "the old and new Geography" were very widely read in Germany and were translated into five or six European languages.

Part of a column in Hubner's Encyclopaedia is devoted to the "*Quacker, or Trembleurs*". It calls them "Sectarians who believe in dreams and visions (*Erscheinungen*), and usually tremble (*zittern*) when they fall into ecstasies or wait upon the Spirit They tolerate no public churches (*Gotteshauser*), nor preaching or praying therein, and forbid the exposition of the Holy Scriptures because they believe that God's Word would cease if anything were to be added to it. They reject learning (*Studium*) and depend solely upon the Inner Light of the Spirit They ignore all authority; confer no distinctive honor upon anyone, call everyone Thou; do not take oaths, let anyone, even women, speak in their assemblies; and—what is most dangerous of all—regard the Holy Scriptures as not the only Word of God, or the only sufficient means of Salvation. They reject, also, infant baptism and the Lord's Supper Their first founder (*Urheber*) was

¹⁰² Groning mentions the reply to Croese written by Tobias Ludwig Kohlhaus, which was published in Amsterdam in 1696, but he knew nothing, of course, of Sewel's History

¹⁰³ „Reale Staats=, Zeitungs=und Conversations=Lexikon“ It was frequently reprinted down to 1792, the reprint or edition quoted above is that of Regensburg and Vienna, 1761

Georg Fox, an English shoe-maker, who boasted Divine Revelations and led a very austere life, by which means he soon made for himself a large following."

Hubner's Encyclopaedia has no article on William Penn, but its edition of 1761 devotes three inches of one column (p. 817) to Pennsylvania [sic], which it calls "a Province in Canada, between New York and Maryland, granted to the Quaker Wilhelm Pen, whose father possessed fine estates (*treffliche Guter*), which he lost in the Parliamentary troubles under Charles I. The province was given to Pen by Charles II in compensation for these, and was named after him. Philadelphia is the name of the city in which the Quakers live. Queen Anne has conferred various privileges upon them, including the right to erect a *Statum politicum*. When Pen died in 1712, this province fell again to the crown." In its article on the *Quacker*, is the further meagre statement "In 1682, the well-known Wilhelm Pen founded a new Republic in Pennsylvania in New England, and secured for it the sanction of the king; he built in it, also, a new city, called Philadelphia."

The next German encyclopaedist who mentions Penn and the Quakers is Johann Heinrich Zedler, who was born in 1706, a dozen years before Penn died. His "Great, Complete, Universal Lexicon of all the Arts and Sciences"¹⁰⁴ was completed in 64 volumes, the last of which was published in Leipzig in 1750, a dozen years before its author's death. In its volumes are an article of two and one-quarter columns on Wilhelm Penn,¹⁰⁵ one of three columns on *Pensilvanien*,¹⁰⁶ and another of nearly three columns on the *Quacker*.¹⁰⁷

Its account of the Quakers must have given to the German people—for the encyclopaedia was very widely read—a rather strange idea of Penn's fellow-believers. It defines them as "a well-known fanatical and enthusiastical sect which arose in England in 1649 and spread thence far and wide. George Fox, an English shoe-maker, boasted of his

¹⁰⁴ „Grosses vollständiges Universal=Lexicon aller Künste und Wissenschaften “

¹⁰⁵ Volume 27 (Leipzig and Halle, 1741), columns 259-261

¹⁰⁶ Volume 27, columns 281-283

¹⁰⁷ Volume 30, columns 8-10

Großes vollständiges
**UNIVERSAL
LEXICON**

Alle Wissenschaften und Künste,
Welche bisher durch menschlichen Verstand und Sines
erfunden und verbessert worden,

Darinnen so wohl die Geographisch-Politische
Beschreibung des Erd-Kreyses, nach allen Monarchien,
Kaiserthümern, Königreichen, Fürstenthümern, Republicken, freyen Herr-
schaften, Ländern, Städten, See-Hafen, Festungen, Schloßern, Flecken, Dörfern, Klöstern, Ci-
burgen, Pässen, Wäldern, Meeren, Seen, Inseln, Flüssen, und Canden, samt der natürlichen Abhandlung
von dem Reich der Natur, nach allen himmlischen, luftigen, feurigen, wasserigen und irdischen Corporen, und allen
hierinnen befindlichen Gestirnen, Planeten, Thieren, Pflanzen, Metallen, Mineralien,
Salzen und Steinen etc.

Als auch eine ausführliche Historisch Genealogische Nachricht von den Durchlauchten
und berühmtesten Geschlechtern in der Welt
Dem Leben und Thaten der Kaiser, Könige, Churfürsten
und Fürsten, grosser Helden, Staats-Minister, Kriegs-Obersten zu
Wasser und zu Lande, den vornehmsten geist- und weltlichen

Ärzten, Predigern etc.
Ingleichen von allen Staats-, Kriegs-, Rechts-, Policey und Haushaltungs-
Geschäften des Adlichen und bürgerlichen Standes, der Kaufmannschaft, Handthierungen,
Künste und Gewerbe, ihren Zünften und Gebiuden, Schiffahrten, Jagden,
Fischereyen, Berg-Wein-Äcker-Bau und Viehzucht etc.

Wie nicht weniger die völlige Vorstellung aller in den Kirchen-Geschichten berühmten
Alt-Väter, Propheten, Apostel, Päpste, Cardinale, Bischöffe, Prälaten und
Gottes-Gelehrten, wie auch Concilien, Synoden, Orden, Wallfahrten, Verfolgungen der Kirchen,

Mächtigern, Heiligen, Secten und Ketzer aller Zeiten und Länder,
Endlich auch ein vollkommener Inbegriff der allergelehrtesten Männer, berühmter Universitäten,
Academien, Societäten und der von ihnen gemachten Entdeckungen, ferner der Mathese, Alterthümer, Mund-Wissenschaft,
Philosophie, Mathematic, Theologie, Jurisprudenz und Medicin, wie auch aller freyen und mechanischen Künste, samt der Erklärung aller
darinnen vorkommenden Kunst-Wörter u. s. f. enthalten ist

Nebst einer Vorrede, von der Einrichtung dieses mühsamen und grossen Wercks

Joh. Met von Ludewig, Jcti,

Röml. Preussischen geheimden und Mägdeburg Regierung- und Consistorial Rathes, Cancellers bey der Univ. Erländ, und der
Juristen-Facultät Praesidis Ordinarii, Erb- und Reichs-Herrn auf Wendorf, Pörs und Gatterstätt

Mit Hoher Potentaten allergnädigsten Privilegium

Erster Band. A. — Am.

Halle und Leipzig,
Verlegt Johann Heinrich Sedler,
Anno 1733.

divine openings and by his solitary and peculiar mode of life made himself notorious. Since he had read the Scriptures diligently from his youth up and had besides a good memory, he was able to speak of divine things with great energy, and thereby procured here and there in England a large following. The name of *Quacker* in English speech, of *Trembleurs* in French, and *Trementes* or *Tremuli* in Latin, was given them because some among them when they fell into ecstasies (*Entzuckung*) were seized with a strange and extraordinary trembling (*Zittern*) of the body and limbs. This peculiarity is said to have been more frequently observed among them in earlier than in later times, and to have been caused by a certain powder (*Pulver*)¹⁰⁸

The persecution of the English Quakers is cited, without condemnation, but the rapid increase in their number is admitted. "By 1656, thousands of them met together in various localities." Their spread to other lands is noted, "especially to Pennsylvania." The "peculiar" Quaker doctrines are treated as follows: "All men are supposed to possess an Inner Light, a portion (*Stuck*) of the Divine Being, which is the sole rule of conduct and belief. Original Sin, they teach, is a nature (*Wesen*) created in men by the Devil. They ascribe to Christ a dual body, namely, a spiritual and an earthly one. From these errors, many others have flowed. They reject Infant Baptism, Learning, and Authority of every kind; they show no man special honor, say Thou to everyone, do not take an oath, permit anyone, even women, to speak in their meetings."

They say that "Christ does not unite himself with us through his humanity, but through the Spirit, which is a nature and seed common in all men, and perceptible by the soul. They deride (*verhohnen*) the Lord's Prayer, and blasphemously declare that Christ was like other men and had his faults. In their churches, they say, the Lord's Prayer should not be uttered, since sermons and discourses are alone permissible. Thus, Quakerism is a genuine summing up and flowing together of all heresies.

¹⁰⁸ The word *Quackers-Pulver* is listed in the Lexicon, with a reference to the above article. The ingredients of the powder and its method of application are, alas, not stated.

“The Quakers’ mode of life was at first very thorough-going; for they rejected indiscriminately everything that had the least appearance of frivolity, as well as those things which, although they are indeed misused, are good in themselves and may therefore be retained. In later years, they have declined somewhat (*ziemlich*) from their austerity.”

Robert Barclay is called by Zedler the Quakers’ foremost scholar, and he mentions as their other leaders, Fisher, Keith, Ames, Burrough, Caton, “and many others who became known by their writings.” George Keith and another Quaker by the name of Stockad¹⁰⁰ caused great controversies and separation among the Quakers themselves, Keith’s followers being called *Keithianer*. Keith finally returned to the Reformirten [that is the Anglican] Church, and in 1702 wrote a refutation of Barclay’s theology.

This article is followed by a short one of a single paragraph on Quakeresses (*Quackermnen*), who are called “those fanatical, sectarian and riotous woman-creatures who gather unto themselves from all sources wild and false opinions, separate themselves from the true Church by their fantastical beliefs and Quaker-like conduct, and rely upon dreams and visions · such woman-creatures as are frequently met with in the Old and the New Church.”

The reference in this article on the Quakers to “Pennsylvania in New Engelland” is as follows. “Here a separate Quaker Republic has been established by the royal favor. The Quakers have founded there a separate city which is called Philadelphia, from the brotherly love for one another of which they boast, although experience has taught that this love does not exist in all of them, since envy, malice and all kinds of evil inclinations have arisen among them.”

Zedler’s article on Pennsylvania gives the information that it is bounded on the east by West Jersey, on the south by Maryland, on the west by Virginia, and on the north by Canada, and that it is 300 by 180 English miles in extent. Its natives are believed, it says, to be descended from the ten lost tribes of Israel, since they still use many ceremonies resem-

¹⁰⁰ This was William Stockdale, one of Keith’s chief opponents, whom Croese calls *Guljelmus Stockadus*.

bling those of the Jews, and their outward appearance is very similar.

Penn's offer of 100 acres for one shilling yearly quit-rent, and one penny per acre to those without money, and of one half-penny per acre for servants and children, soon drew many people from Europe. So numerous were they, that he arrived in Pensilvanien on November 1, 1682, with about twenty ships full, and there on the de la Ware Strom built a considerable (*ansehnliche*) city, which now has about 3,000 houses. Six counties exist (Philadelphia, Buckingham, Chester, Newcastle, Kent and Sussex), in each of which is established a court (*Gerichts-Bancke*). The superfluity of cattle and fruits supports a heavy trade with England and other parts of America. The chief navigable rivers are the de la Ware, in which ships of 200 tons can ascend 200 English miles; the Christine, the Brandewin, the Scilpot [Skippack], and the Schuykil [sic]. There are a multitude of little rivers.

Besides Philadelphia, another English society has built the city of Franckfurt, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Philadelphia, here, besides merchandizing, there are some mills, glass-ovens and brick-yards. Newcastle on the de la Ware Strom is forty English miles from the sea, and has a good harbor. The city of Upland lies twenty miles up the river from Newcastle, and is inhabited chiefly by Swedes.

On the 24th of October, 1685 [sic], L. Franciscus Daniel Pastorius of Winsheim in Francken, founded a city two miles from Philadelphia, which he has named Germantown or Germanopolis, which contains 6,000 Morgen of land, besides 12,000 Morgen which Wilhelm Penn has ceded for the founding of some villages. This city, too, has its own court, burgermeister and council. Its inhabitants are mostly handicraftsmen, but they also farm and raise cattle. Linen, woollens and leather-goods (*haren Zeug*) are already being made.¹¹⁰

The English have several kinds of religious assemblies: 1, the Anglicans, who built a pretty (*artige*) church in Philadelphia, in 1695; 2, the Baptists (*Wiedertaufer*), 3, the Presbyterians, 4, the Quakers, who are the most numerous and of

¹¹⁰ Monograph Number Two

two (*zweyerley*) kinds. The Dutch hold their services at Newcastle; the Swedes at Christian, Tennaim [Tinnecum] and Wicoco; the Germans (*Hochdeutschen*) at Germantown¹¹¹

The heathenish natives are ruled by kings who, persuaded by Penn's presents, sold him a twenty miles [strip] of land and removed farther into the wilderness. Their kings are called Sachimas, and are succeeded, not by their own, but by their brothers' and sisters' children. Their speech is short and lovely. The children are clothed only with a band around the waist, and marry very young. They are dark (*schwarzlich*) in color, and, what is strange, no beggars are seen in this land.

After the death of Wilhelm Penn in 1718, his heirs sold the stateholdership of Pensilvanien to the King of England for 12,000 pounds sterling; but since only 1,000 of this sum was paid, and because of other heavy expenses the rest of the payment could not well be made, the purchase was cancelled and the family of Penn was re-instated in its former rights

In its article on Wilhelm Penn, Zedler's encyclopaedia states that after the death of his father, "Penn became among others a lord of the Province of Pennsylvania (Penn's Wilderness), in which he built the city of Philadelphia, and made many praise-worthy laws." It also gives the following legend: When Penn was preparing to go for the first time to Pennsylvania, he and another Quaker from Holland went to take leave of King Charles II. They wore no swords (*Degen*), and the Duke of York said to them that he wished them luck, but did not see how they could carry on the government without swords, since they would be in almost daily peril from a medley of people who could not be ruled without stocks and gallows. To this Penn replied: "We must not permit any Papists (*Pfaffen*) to mix in, and then all will be well." The king looked at James and said. "By my soul, the Quaker has reason [is right]."¹¹²

Zedler's article on Penn himself records his birth and education ("painstaking and according to his rank"); his stay

¹¹¹ *Ibid*

¹¹² Charles's words are given in English. The familiar legend as to Penn's refusal to take with him soldiers or arms for use against the *Indians* is not recorded here Cf *supra*, p 24.

at the University of Oxford [sic]; his visit to France and attack there by "a thug"; his sojourn in 1666 in Ireland, where he was converted to Quakerism, and his father's disownment of him on that account. Becoming a preacher among the Quakers, George Fox came to London "on Penn's account" (*um semet willen*) and together they went to Holland, where they were very kindly received by Elizabeth, who condescended to listen to their sermons. His father, after being drawn very closely to Wilhelm, and even to the Quakers, died and enabled him to become a Lord in the Province of Pennsylvania. He thus became the head of the Quakers in America, and rendered good service also to those in England under Charles and James. These sovereigns, however, could not save him from occasional terms in prison, like the rest of the Quakers. When James was driven from his throne, he appealed to Penn to show his gratitude now for the royal favors that he had received, and when one such letter was seized, he was ordered by William to be examined. Although he was fully acquitted of treason, he realized that he could escape suspicion only by withdrawing himself entirely from social intercourse. He therefore went again to Pennsylvania, where he remained some years (*einige Jahre*) in Philadelphia. Returning to England in 1712, after he had sold all his Pennsylvania estates to the English government for 20,000 pounds sterling, he lived at his home in London so retired (*emgezogen*) a life that he was seldom seen by anyone, until finally in 1718 "he went off with death."

As for Penn's character, Zedler says that he was a learned man, and possessed an especially fine, natural persuasiveness (*Beredsamkeit*) at which his opponents continually marvelled. In doctrine, he held with the rest of the Quakers; but he had his own ideas also, one of which in particular held that it is enough for a Christian if he acknowledges the Scriptures as the divinely revealed word and heartily believes the *Fundamental-Archickel* [sic] plainly stated therein, but for the rest, not to trouble one's self about any higher profession than to avoid all evil and to fulfil in proper manner one's duties towards God and one's neighbors. He therefore carried toleration so far that many considered him a secret Papist, although indeed he openly declared that the Socinians and Papists were the most dangerous opponents of his

sect, with whom they would have still to struggle when all other religions had been overcome.

As authorities for his account of Penn, Zedler cites only three of Penn's own writings,¹¹³ besides *Croeti* [Croese's] Latin history of the Quakers, and two works in French, namely, *Catron's* (Catrou's) „Histoire des Trembleurs [*Anabaptistes*]“, 1695, and Voltaire's „Lettres philosophiques“, L. 4 etc., 1730. As authorities for his accounts of the Quakers and of Pennsylvania, he cites other works as follows. Arnold's „Ketzer hist.“, P. 2.1.17. c. 20; Bentheim's (Benthem's) „Kirchen = und Schulen = Staat“, P. 1, c 17, Colberg's „In Hermet. Plat. Christenthum“, P. 1, c 7; Lassenius „Entdeckung der Quackerischen Secte“; Kohlhaus „Dilucidationes“; Auctor diss. de statu ecclesiae Anglicano. Caroli in memorab. eccl. sec. 17; „Histoire du Kouakerisme“, Bloom's „English America“, ch. 8,¹¹⁴ Pastorius „Beschreibung der Provintz Pensylvanae“; Thomas „Continuatio der Beschreib Pensylv.“; and Falckner's „Nachricht von Pensylv.“¹¹⁵

From this motley array of early writers on Quakerism came the only knowledge of Penn and the Quakers which even the educated classes in Germany possessed for a century after Penn's first visit to the Rhineland; and this knowledge, it has been seen, was a medley of truth and falsehood. During that century, upwards of 100,000 colonists went from the Fatherland to Pennsylvania, and Penn was himself largely responsible for that emigration,¹¹⁶ but Penn's real fame was very slow in penetrating into the minds of the mass of the German people who thought of him, if at all, only in connection with a vague place of exile or opportunity.

Even a hundred years after Zedler's work, the popular knowledge of Penn and the Quakers was very meagre and bizarre. The eighth edition of Brockhaus's „Conversations=Lexikon“, which had been begun in 1796, contained in its

¹¹³ Namely, Penn's Latin letter to the Consuls of Embden (1672), his „Christendom summoned to Judgment“, and „A Tender Visitation in the Love of God“, the last two were published, in Dutch, in 1677

¹¹⁴ This should be Richard Blome's „Present State of America“, London, 1687, French trans, Amsterdam, 1688, German trans, Leipzig, 1697

¹¹⁵ See Monograph No. 2, for these last three treatises

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

eighth volume published in 1835 an article of two or three pages on Penn, drawn chiefly from Clarkson's "Life of Penn" (London, 1814), and an article of three pages on the Quakers, with no references cited.

Towards the end of the latter article, occur the following novel statements: "There are more than 300,000 Quakers in the United States, where they enjoy complete civil and religious liberty, but they must confess the irreconcilability of their principles with the political constitution during the war which freed the United States from England. At that time there arose among them the separate sect of the Free or Fighting Quakers, while the Quakers of the old system, who reject all outward defence, showed their patriotism only by the payment of taxes for supplies (*Magazinen*) . . . Those among them who have departed from the old simplicity and have adopted the customs and luxuries of the world which are contrary to their discipline are called Wet (*nasse*) Quakers, and are excluded from the Monthly Meetings; while those who adhere to the old doctrine and rigid customs are called Dry (*trockene*) Quakers. Since the number of the latter is gradually decreasing, this sect, whose religious outlook stripped of its shell of mysticism is a hard Deism, appears to be approaching its dissolution. One of the various sects of the Quakers at present is that of the Shaking (*Schutter*) Quakers, or Shakers."

The article on the Quakers in the tenth edition of this encyclopaedia¹¹⁷ still cites no authorities, and states. "Many sects have arisen among the Quakers of North America. Those who have discarded many of the striking peculiarities in austerity of life are called Wet Quakers, in contrast with the Austere, or Dry Quakers; those who hold it permissible to perform military service, are called Free or Fighting Quakers, those who cherish a strict Deism, are called Hicksites, after their spokesman (*Wortfuhrer*), Elias Hicks, opposed to whom are the Evangelical Friends."

Nearly sixty years before this last account of Penn and his fellow-Quakers, a genuine biography of the founder of the Quaker commonwealth is said to have been written in German and published in Berlin. This first German biography

¹¹⁷ Vol 12, pp. 488-491

is attributed to Wilhelm Abraham Teller, and is entitled "A Biography of the Famous William Penn."¹¹⁸ Although doubt has been cast on the existence of this book, there is no doubt about the reality of its reputed author

Wilhelm Abraham Teller was an outstanding Protestant theologian and a leading exponent of German rationalism. He was born in Leipzig in 1734, the son of a Lutheran pastor and professor of theology; studied theology at Leipzig; became a pastor and professor of theology (at Helmstadt); and lived a very full and active life for three score years and ten. It was doubtless the urge towards freedom of thought and expression that led him to study the history and tenets of Quakerism and to write a biography of William Penn. Despite the storm of denunciation which raged against him, he was appointed to such official honors as that of *Oberkonsistorialrat* and *Propst* in Colln an der Spree, and was a member for the last twenty years of his life of the Berlin Academy of Sciences. He was a prolific author of many books, the list of writings attributed to him numbering seventy-four.

The first mention of a biography of Penn written by Teller appears to be in a Memorial Sermon preached (probably at the time of his funeral) by Jakob Elias Troschel, which included a sketch (pages 41-46), of Teller's literary life (*literarischen Lebenslauf*) and a list (pages 46-54) of sixty-two of his writings (*Schriften-verzeichnis*). This sermon was published in Berlin and Stettin in 1805, the year after Teller's death, and on its page 53 is listed (Number 49) „Lebensbeschreibung des berühmten Wilhelm Penn an Herrn H. in M., 1779."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ „Lebensbeschreibung des berühmten Wilhelm Penn“, Berlin, 1779

¹¹⁹ Contributed by Ambassador William E. Dodd. Heinrich Döring in his „Die deutschen Kanzelredner des 18 und 19 Jahrhunderts“, Neustadt a. d. Orla, 1830, lists seventy-four of Teller's writings, among which (Number 36, on page 512) is the „Lebensbeschreibung des berühmten Wilhelm Penn“, Berlin, 1779. But in a catalogue of books published anonymously („Deutsches Anonymenlexikon“, III, L-R, 1905) there was listed „Lebensbeschreibung des berühmten Wilhelm Penn, an Herrn H. ——— in M. ——— ebend., 1779 8vo Brandenburg Berlin“ (Contributed by Professor Albert B. Faust). The article on Teller (Vol. 37, pp. 556-8) in the „Allgemeine deutsche Biographie“ (Leipzig, 1875-1912) mentions many of his writings, but not the biography of Penn.



D·W·A·TELLER

The next mention of Teller's "Penn" is made by Johann Samuel Ersch, a famous bibliographer, librarian and professor of geography and statistics at the Universities of Leipzig and Halle, who wrote a *Universal Repertorium of Literature* covering the years 1785 to 1800¹²⁰ This was devoted largely to works by foreign authors; moreover, Teller's "Penn" had been published six years before the *Repeitorium* was begun Hence, Ersch would not have cited it there even though he had known of it; but he followed this book by a *Handbook of German Literature*, published in 1812-14,¹²¹ in which he does mention Teller's biography of Penn; and he cites it again in 1822, in his *Literature of Theology*.¹²² Ersch began to compile his great *Universal Encyclopaedia* in February, 1815, the first volume of which was published in 1818,¹²³ and by the time of his death, ten years later, eighteen of its volumes had appeared His associate, Johann Gottfried Gruber carried it on until at the time of his death in 1851 fifty-four volumes had been published. In the third series, sixteenth volume of this work, published in 1842, there appears an extended article on William Penn by G. M. S. Fischer,¹²⁴ who cites among his authorities Teller's "Penn"

But, alas, through the irony of fate no copy of this first full-length biography of Penn in German literature is now to be found A search of several years in the United States, England, Holland, Germany and France has been in vain Booksellers, librarians, bibliographers, clergymen, exchange professors, and even the scholarly historian, our American ambassador in Berlin, have been so kind as to use their great

¹²⁰ „Allgemeines Repertorium der Literatur“, 1785-90, later continued to 1800

¹²¹ „Handbuch der deutschen Literatur Seit der Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts bis auf die neueste Zeit“, Amsterdam and Leipzig, [F. A. Brockhaus's] Kunst-und industrie comptoir, 1812-1814, 2 volumes in 8 parts In Vol 2, Part 6, column 685, item 5935, of this book, there is listed Teller's „Lebensbeschreibung des berühmten Wilhelm Penn“

¹²² „Literatur der Theologie“, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1822 (column 225, item 2238)

¹²³ „Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste“, many editions have been published (since 1832, by the firm of Brockhaus in Leipzig), the last (beginning in 1890) including 167 volumes!

¹²⁴ Folio pages, 17-28

facilities and ingenuity in this quest, but thus far without success.

G. M. S. Fischer, the author of the article on Penn, who cites Teller's book, appears to be also unknown to fame. His name does not appear in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (56 volumes, 1875-1912); nor in the fourteenth edition (1929) of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the *Grande Encyclopédie* (Paris, 31 volumes, 1886-1903), the catalogue of Printed Books in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of Paris, nor the catalogues of the *Congressional Library* and the *British Museum*. From this it would appear that he was not at all of literary eminence and may have been one of the myriad of forgotten writers who have performed the literary drudgery from which their more brilliant contemporaries profited.

That Fischer himself was not more than a translator and compiler is quite evident from comparing his article with Thomas Clarkson's *Life of Penn*, which had been published in London in 1814. Although he quotes Anthony Wood in regard to Penn at Oxford and Rapin de Thoyras (Vols. 10 and 11) in regard to three later events, and cites in his references one American, one English, three German, and two French authors,¹²⁵ it was Clarkson who supplied at least ninety-nine per cent of his material.

The approximately 150 pages (out of 800) which Clarkson devoted to Penn's relations with New Jersey and Pennsylvania are condensed by Fischer into one-thirtieth of that number. But he is nevertheless duly impressed by the importance of the two colonies in Penn's career, for he says of his relations with them: "They opened to him a field of labor in which his talents emerged in such a way that his name became unforgettable (*unvergesslich*), in them he laid the foundation of a State which still belongs to the most prosperous in North America."

It is significant that this Saxon writer in the first half of the Nineteenth Century, with its censorship of the press and the church preceding the Revolution of 1848, should have omitted from his account of William Penn's relations with the Stuart kings all praise of his great work for religious liberty.

¹²⁵ *Fr. Belknap* (*Dr. Jeremy Belknap, 1744-1798*), A. Rees, J. M. Schroch, A. H. Niemeyer and W. A. Teller, *Chaufepié and Marsillac* (in the German translation by Friedrich).



Thomas Clarkson

There are many minor events and writings mentioned by Clarkson which Fischer omits. The only things omitted by Clarkson, and included by Fischer are as follows. Penn's duel in Paris, and a comparison of Penn in controversial writings with Priestley, and in number of writings with Count Zinzendorf. The errors Fischer commits are the statements that Penn studied law in the city of Lincoln, instead of at Lincoln's Inn,¹²⁶ and that Penn spent two years in France and the *Netherlands*, in 1662-1664. Referring to Penn's Puritanical ways at Oxford, Fischer calls him "an out and out kill-joy" (*ein tuchtige sogenannte Maulschelle*). Of his beginning to preach Quakerism, Fischer says that Penn did it "with so much zeal and applause that even the head (*Haupt*) of the Quakers, George Fox, hastened up from the country to London to hear the young orator and make his acquaintance." The reason for Penn's confinement in the Tower in 1668, Fischer suggests, was the desire of his father to protect him from his enemies. On his visit to Holland and Germany in 1671, Fischer states that "he made many converts"; and the conception of New Jersey as a place of refuge for the Quakers and other persecuted sects, Fischer thinks Penn cherished before his visit to the Continent in 1677, although he admits that the object of that visit was to organize the Quakers there for strength and unity, rather than to persuade them to emigrate to New Jersey. The "Letter to his Family" which Penn wrote on the eve of his departure to Pennsylvania in 1682, Fischer states was published in full by Clarkson, also that extracts from it had been printed in the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände*, 1816, Nr 45, S. 178. On the voyage of 1682, Fischer says that Penn "betook himself from Newcastle [England] to New York and thereafter arranged for (*veranstaltete*) the first Provincial Assembly to meet at Upland, the later Chester." The confiscation of Pennsylvania by the crown in 1692, Fischer attributes to "jealousy of Pennsylvania's prosperity." On his second visit to Pennsylvania, "from 1700 on, Penn established Monthly Meetings of the Quakers on a plain (in the country? *Ebene* ?) for the purpose of teaching the principles of Chris-

¹²⁶ The familiar names of Grace Church (or "Gracious") Street and Wheeler Street, London, also sound strange in Fischer's equivalents of *Gnadenkirchstrasse* and *Radmacherstrasse*.

tianity to the Indians as well as to the Negroes, whose importation Penn had been unable to prevent."

In conclusion, Fischer quotes briefly Clarkson's eulogy of Penn, but adds that "Bishop Burnet, however, may not be wrong in attributing to him some vanity, and it may well be believed that the honorable Quaker often placed a hard test upon the patience of his hearers by his monologues (*Vortrag*). But even if he was not wholly free from ambition and selfish consideration in his enterprise, nevertheless the chief impulse to the founding of his colony which bears his name and still honors his example certainly sprang from the piety and generosity of his heart."¹²⁷

How much of what is new and erroneous in Fischer's sketch of Penn is due to his use of Teller's book cannot be told in the loss or disappearance of Teller's book itself. Fischer cites it as one of his authorities; and it is to be hoped that, as the first reputed real life of Penn by a German in German, it may yet come to light.

Although Penn and his fellow-Quakers did not become in Germany, as they did in French literature, a model of all human virtues,¹²⁸ German writers by the middle of the Nineteenth Century were almost uniformly making an *amende honorable* for the treatment which they had received in the books and at the hands of their German predecessors in the Eighteenth Century. Max Goebel, a well-known German scholar of Solingen and Coblenz (1811-1858), is a good illustration of this fair treatment of them. Goebel, in his "History of the Christian Life in the Rhenish-Westphalian Evangelical Church",¹²⁹ discusses them as follows:

"They recognized, indeed, that the reformation of the church was a god-given, but as yet uncompleted, task and therefore demanded a complete and thorough-going Restoration (*Wiederherstellung*), from the bottom and from within, not only of the secularized external (*verweltlichten ausser-*

¹²⁷ Fischer quotes here the condemnation of Burnet's criticism found in the article on Penn in *The Encyclopaedia* of Abraham Rees, London, 1802-1820

¹²⁸ Cf. Edith Phillips, "The Good Quaker in French Legend", Philadelphia, 1932

¹²⁹ „Geschichte des christlichen Lebens i d rhein-westf Kirche", Koblenz, 1852, Vol II, pp 288-290. The only copy of this book in America appears to be in the Library of the University of Iowa

lichen) Church, as for example the Labadists did, but of all Christendom itself. The inner renewal of Christendom, a vital religion in deed and truth, the rejection of each and every outward form as such, including that of the church, the sacraments, the service, the sermon, marriage by a clergyman (*Trauung*). Such was the high and hardly-to-be-attained goal which the leaders of the new Society of 'Friends' (that is, 'of God')—George Fox, George Keith, Robert Barclay and William Penn—chased after (*nachjagten*) with divine enthusiasm but with human impetuosity; and they actually, at least in part, attained it. . . .

"Hence, they struggled above all for [their own] conversion, rebirth and consecration, and strove on the other hand 'to make Christendom free from superfluities and to put aside its outward usages and customs, so as to cling the more decisively to realities, to the things most necessary and useful for conversion.' And since they accepted the words and letter of Holy Scripture only as external precepts for the Christian life (which should be guided fundamentally by the inward principle), they could not fail soon to become engaged with the whole world and the entire church in a most bitter controversy and strife, in which they were able to triumph only through the power of that faith which overcomes the world.

"It was natural, also, that this controversy should be connected directly with the externals of everyday life because the conscientious scruples of the Quakers, their insistence on the supremacy and freedom of conscience, would not permit them to seize the sword, take an oath, pay tithes to the (secularized) church, accord or accept outward honor, thereby refusing to remove their hats before men, to greet or converse with them by the use of 'You', to become soldiers or public officials, to attend church, to permit themselves to be baptized or married, whereby they naturally gave the world as great cause for scandal as they caused it to honor them for their patient suffering, their love for foe and friend, the veracity, loyalty, simplicity and humility of their daily conduct.

"It must by no means be concealed, however, in the above description, based as it is on historical investigation, that the

Quakers on their side were deserving of much blame because of their obstinacy, vehemence, enmity to the church, fanaticism, and spiritual pride in suffering and oppression; or that the Evangelical church and the Christian civil authorities were able with great difficulty and only by the use of force to defend themselves against the Quakers' importunate zeal for destroying the existing order (*alles Bestehenden*). But the Quakers did not deserve either such stern persecution, or such extreme abuse, as was inflicted upon them at that time (for example, in the *Pantheon anabaptisticum* of 1701), and are therefore generally accorded at present a more just and favorable judgment ''

Magna est Veritas, et praevalebit.

L A V I E
D E
GUILLAUME PENN,
FONDATEUR DE LA PENSYLVANIE,
Premier Législateur connu des États-
Unis de l'Amérique.

Ouvrage contenant l'Histoire des premiers fondemens de Philadelphie, des Loix et de la Constitution des États-Unis de l'Amérique, des principes et actions de la Société des Amis (vulgairement connus sous le nom de Quakers, etc)

TOME PREMIER.

PAR J. MARSILLAC, Docteur en Médecine, Député extraordinaire des Amis de France à l'Assemblée Nationale, etc

Je cherche ton bonheur et non pas tes louanges.
YOUNG



A P A R I S,

De l'imprimerie du Cercle Social, rue du théâtre
Français, n° 4 1791.

CHAPTER VI

PENN'S FIRST FRENCH BIOGRAPHY

In that ominous year 1791, when the French Revolutionists arrested and suspended their king and the rest of Europe prepared to invade France and suppress the Revolution, there was published in Paris a biography of the Anglo-American Quaker leader, William Penn. Its author was Jean Maisillac (or Jean de Marsillac Lecomte),¹³⁰ whose title on the title-page of his book is given as "Doctor of Medicine, Deputy Extraordinary of the Friends of France to the National Assembly, etc."¹³¹ This National Assembly had been in session since June 1789, and had begun the revolution in a moderate, constitutional fashion, but was superseded in October, 1791, by the more radical Legislative Assembly, for election to which none of its predecessor's members were eligible

The "Friends of France" whom Dr. Marsillac represented before the National Assembly were the Quakers of Southern France, with whom he had united in 1785, and some Anglo-American Friends in Dunkirk. William Rotch, of Nantucket, Massachusetts, who removed his whaling industry from that island to Dunkirk, just after the American Revolution, was the leader of the Friends in Dunkirk, and he and his son Benjamin accompanied Marsillac before the Assembly. But it was Marsillac who led the delegation to present a petition from the Friends to the National Assembly. It was he, too, who wrote the petition and a statement of Friends' principles which went with it. The principle of the Inner Light in the soul of each individual was stressed in the statement, and the petition requested that the Friends should be exempted by law from military training and service and the taking of oaths, as well as permitted to keep a separate register of their members' births, marriages and

¹³⁰ This last name appears to derive from the famous noble family of Conti

¹³¹ *Docteur en Médecin, Député extraordinaire des Amis de France à l'Assemblée Nationale, etc*

deaths, thus legalizing them without the intervention of the Catholic Church.

After presenting the petition to the President of the Assembly (Mirabeau), on the 10th. of February, 1791, Marsillac and his companions were invited to sit in the gallery and listen to the debate upon it. Although a leading Girondist, Brissot de Warville, was an enthusiastic supporter of the Quakers, Mirabeau influenced the Assembly to decline to legalize by statute their conscientious objection to war; and a later interview with Robespierre was also unsuccessful.

During his stay in Paris at this time, Marsillac distributed books on Quakerism (including "some of William Penn's pieces in French"); had numerous conversations on the same subject with leaders of the Assembly; dined with Lafayette and his wife; and *tried* to present Quaker books in person to the king and queen. Despite all this, and perhaps partly because of it, he did not get out of Paris without being arrested for refusing to wear the national cockade; and although he was liberated by the mayor, Pétion, he suffered "divers grievous trials" after his return home, on account of his refusal to take the "civic oath", keep and bear arms, mount guard, etc.

The title of Marsillac's biography of Penn as given on its title-page is "The Life of William Penn, Founder of *Pensylvanie*; first known Law-giver in the United States of America. A Treatise containing the History of the Founding of Philadelphia, of the Laws and Constitution of the United States of America, and of the Principles and Activities of the Society of Friends (commonly known under the name of Quakers, etc.)."¹³² It was published in Paris, by the Press of the Social Circle, "rue du théâtre François, n° 4," under the date 1791. The first edition was bound in two volumes, octavo, of 264 and 304 pages respectively; and in the same year, the two volumes were issued bound in one.¹³³

¹³² „La Vie de Guillaume Penn, Fondateur de Pensylvania . . .“ A Paris, 1791.

¹³³ A copy of the book in each of these forms is preserved in the Friends' Historical Library of Swarthmore College, and a copy of the two-in one is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Page 289 in Vol II is numbered 279, and this error of ten pages is carried through to the end.

The date of publication is reminiscent of the popularity of the new American Republic and its political ideals among a people themselves teeming with revolutionary ideas, and among a nation whose government had helped to secure America's independence in the Revolutionary War. The National Assembly, too, which was working upon the drafting of a constitution for the new quasi-republic of France, had been vastly interested in the constitution quite recently prepared in Penn's city of Philadelphia for the new republic of the United States. This latter constitution had several important features which made it closely akin to the Constitution adopted for Pennsylvania in 1776, and to the "Frame of Government" which Penn had prepared for his colony of Pennsylvania in 1682. It was politically explicable, therefore, why Dr. Marsillac believed that a biography of the great American statesman would be both popular and helpful at that particular time in France.

After completing his biography of Penn on Page 162 of his second volume, Marsillac devotes pages 163-232 to the "new and last Constitution of Pennsylvania and of the United States of America, called and assembled in Philadelphia, the 15th. of July, 1776" This phraseology is misleading; for the Constitution of the United States is not included in the book, and was not drafted until 1787. Pennsylvania's constitution of 1776 (drafted by a convention held in Philadelphia from July 15 to September 28, 1776) is given by Marsillac in French translation, the "Declaration of Rights" occupying eight pages and the "Plan for Frame of Government" the upper portion of 54 pages, while on the lower portion of the latter is given the "Project of a form of government for the State of Pennsylvania, published for the purpose of permitting the inhabitants to communicate their comments upon it (July, 1776)." An explanatory foot-note on "free men" and "slaves" is contributed by "an American"; and Dr. Marsillac supplies a number of other foot-notes on "freedom", "search warrants", "free-holders", "impeachment", "justices of the peace", "loan office", "sheriff", "jury trial", "indictments", "coroner" and "letters of administration." Following the constitution, Dr.

Marsillac makes the statement: "It was ordered by the committee of the whole [that is, by the Convention] that this constitution be signed by Doctor Benjamin *Franklin*, whom it had chosen as its president; by Mr. Jean *Morris*, Secretary; and by all the members of the committee present at its last session, at the end of which it be dissolved."

There was another special reason besides the political one why the author chose Penn for his subject, the fact, namely, that he was himself a member of Penn's own religious society. Marsillac's home was in Normandy, but he frequently visited the Friends in Southern France, and was himself visited by a party of English and American Friends in 1788. He accompanied this party of Quaker preachers on their return to England, as far as the Isle of Guernsey; and the next year he visited London, where he was invited, under the name of John Demercelack, to attend the sessions of the Yearly Meeting. In 1790, he met the former party of travelling ministers in Dunkirk and accompanied them on their journey through Holland as far as Utrecht, where he fell ill and was obliged to return home.

The impressions he gained from his association with these English, and perhaps from the French Quakers as well, are reflected in his "Life of Penn," one passage in which portrays them as follows "The Friends in general acquire from their childhood the habit of silence and meditation, their language is usually deliberate (*réfléchi*), their intercourse affectionate, and they succeed in living with one another in sweet harmony, and in often winning approbation [*? et à entraîner souvent les suffrages*]; if they oppose your opinion, it is done modestly; they calmly state their reasons, and try to persuade rather than coerce. Most of their comportment is grave, having a living belief that the Supreme Being hears their words and judges all their actions."

Fresh from his intimate contacts with Quakerism and its leaders, he wrote his Life of Penn as a labor of love and loyalty, as well as in the hope of influencing France to adopt a form of government similar to that under which the people of Pennsylvania had lived and flourished. His Quaker testimony in favor of peace appears in his first eight pages

(entitled "First Ideas of the Author"), in which he contrasts the career of "cruel tyrants and barbarous conquerors", such as Romulus, Alexander, Mohammed, Omar, Tamerlane and especially Cortes (an *American* desperado) with that of "the beneficent and peaceful William Penn."

"That a human being", he exclaims, "born in opulence, bred in the midst of human greatness, a favorite of kings, qualified to demand everything, should voluntarily renounce the delights of the court, the vanities of splendor (*du faste*) and the most exalted power; adopt a proscribed religion, expose himself to the fury of the populace, the persecutions of the clergy, and the contempt of the great; establish at the ends of the earth a government founded on justice, peace and universal benevolence, and consecrate it as an asylum for all persecuted beings; finally, having become proprietor of a vast territory, should disdain splendor, power and glory and prefer, in lieu of a ruler's renown, the humility, modesty and virtues of the early Christians by placing himself in the class of the simple citizen. This is an astonishing moral phenomenon, such as the annals of the whole world can offer no other example."

The Revolutionists' penchant for denouncing tyrants may have helped to account for the final apostrophe in Marsillac's preface. "Ferocious conquerors, barbarous usurpers, bloody sacrificers, who chased after happiness; you, whose names have come down to us only because of your cruelties, your massacres and your robberies, answer me: Did your heinous crimes (*forfaits*) make you any happier? No! Very well, then contemplate Penn, and tremble and shed tears! You would never be able to shed enough to wash out all the blood your ferocities have spilled on the earth!"

In his last six pages, too, Marsillac returns to this contrast between Penn and the conquerors, and exalts him above his contemporaries who carried fire and destruction into Africa and America. "Like a being sent from heaven, Penn carried peace and beneficence . . . into climes which had been the prey of the European genius for destruction; he did more: he laid there the foundations of liberty and of general felicity." By the wisdom of his government and the toleration he extended

to "a hundred diverse sects", he filled his colony with people and made them happy and prosperous to a degree and with a rapidity never equalled in history! A glowing picture of Penn's beloved Philadelphia graces the last page.

Marsillac wrote his biography nearly a quarter-century before Clarkson's life of Penn appeared; but he had ample materials before him from the London press, especially Penn's own "Works" (1726, 1771, and 1782); and he evidently made much use of Willem Sewel's "History", which had appeared in Dutch in 1717 and in English in 1722. Marsillac in his turn influenced later biographers of Penn, among them the first American biographer, Mason L. Weems, who includes at the end of his book a free translation of the half-dozen pages at the end of Marsillac's; and, whereas Marsillac contrasts Penn and Cortez,¹³⁴ Weems contrasts Penn and Captain John Smith; finally, Marsillac's eulogy of Philadelphia on his last page inspired Weems to devote *his* last page to the same theme.

Since his book was written in French and translated into German,¹³⁵ it is natural that the sketches of Penn in the encyclopaedias and biographical dictionaries of France and Germany should refer to Marsillac as a leading authority; it is also natural, albeit somewhat amusing to find him figuring in the same capacity in those of Italy and Spain.

The topics in his "Life" are taken up chronologically, and there are only a few noteworthy facts in regard to the distribution of his space Penn's parents and education fill only a dozen pages, including his Oxford experience and first meeting with Thomas Loe (*Loé*) and his stay in France. This last topic is naturally of special interest to a Frenchman, and he devotes three pages to it. Penn's father, he says, "imagined that the surest means of effacing his religious principles

¹³⁴ This contrast Marsillac may have had suggested to him by one of the "Dialogues of the Dead", written by George, Lord Lyttelton (1709-1773), and first published in London, in 1760 This book was translated into French, and published at The Hague in 1761, by Eli de Joncourt, *supra*, p. 11 The eighth of the dialogues is a somewhat ironical eulogy of Penn and a corresponding condemnation of Cortez (see the *Friends Intelligencer*, Philadelphia, 1933, Vol. 90, p. 230 an article by the author)

¹³⁵ It was translated into German by Johann Christoph Friedrich (1775-1836), and published in Strassburg, 1793

from his soul was to send him on a journey among a foreign people. . . It was decided that he should pass some time in a kingdom where pleasure and frivolity were suitable for dissipating profound ideas of an austere morality." Forced by his companions to plunge into the whirlpool of frivolous groups and amusements, which were then the idols of the French people, he was deprived of all opportunity for meditation, and those sublime ideas [of Quakerism] which he had adopted with so much fervor were dissipated. He even fought a victorious duel with a gallant to whom he had failed to remove his hat, but Marsillac, in relating this anecdote, adds a foot-note to emphasize the fact that the incident occurred before Penn became a Friend, and quotes Penn's later estimate of the folly of either killing or being killed on account of such a ceremony. Permitted to return home, Penn's father was enchanted by the rapid progress he had made in the French language and by the marvellous facility (*pénétration*) with which he had acquired those graceful poses (*tournures*), distinguished manners, pleasing compliments (*usages flatteurs*) and noble ease which characterize those whom human vanity call by the name of *great*

Coming to Penn's final conversion to Quakerism, Marsillac quotes Voltaire and "Doctor Miller"¹³⁶ as explaining it by his reaction to England's sombre fogs, after leaving the pure air and brilliant society of France. But he rejects this as fanciful and relies for his own explanation upon an inward wrestling with the spirit and the triumph of mysticism over the temptations of the material world. His second meeting with Thomas Loe in Ireland, Marsillac also accepts as influential. "I will not undertake to explain here," he says, "either the cause or the effects of these sublime influences. It is true that Loe was not a logician; he was indeed a good man but unlettered, estimable because of his simplicity, his good habits, his principles and his perseverance in the moral virtues." But these explanations of Penn's great change evidently do not quite satisfy his biographer, for he adds: "I

¹³⁶ Perhaps John Miller, a Baptist preacher of Norfolk, who published about 1718, "A Short Dialogue between a Baptist and a Quaker" London's "Plague" in 1665, as well as London's fog, has been counted on by some writers as an explanation of Penn's lapse into Quakerism

will therefore confine myself, as historian, to presenting the facts which have come to my knowledge''; at the same time, he deploras his inability to do justice to Loe's sermon, or to Quaker preaching in general.

In speaking of the customs of the Quakers which Penn now adopted, the French gentleman, his biographer, comments on the fact that he "did not at once adopt the simplicity of their costume, which usually consists of a hat without either band or riband (*sans galons ni glands*); short hair, without a wig; plain linen, without cuffs; a woollen or cotton suit, without any ornament. But Penn at that time, following the custom of young English gentlemen, wore a large curled wig, and a suit more elegant (*recherché*) than those usually worn by members of that placid society." Since his speech, too, lacking the "thee" and "thou", did not betray the Quaker, his Irish gaolers would have released him as a non-Quaker, had he not assured them of their mistake.¹³⁷

Marsillac probably never saw the "portrait of Penn in armour", which is attributed to Sir Peter Lely, and a copy of which did not come to Philadelphia until 1833; but his conception of Penn as a young dandy in France and Ireland tallies well with the portrait. About the time that it arrived in Philadelphia, two Philadelphia citizens wrote of it as follows:¹³⁸ "The other original likeness of Penn [besides the bust by Bevan] is a portrait taken in 1666, when he was twenty-two years old. An engraving of it is contained in Grenville [sic] Penn's '*Memorials of the Professional Life of Sir William Penn*', the father of the founder of Pennsylvania. In that work the author says, 'It is the only portrait of

¹³⁷ Marsillac explains to his French readers in later foot-notes that "the Friends do not deem it consistent with the dignity of true Christianity to use the names of pagan idols for the days and months," but designate them by numbers, according to Matthew, 28 1. He also explains that it is the custom of *les Trembleurs* to call women by the name of *Friend*, rather than *Madame* or *Miladi*, these being titles of honor and vanity, that *master* and *mistress* are used only by servants; and that many Friends are called simply Peter, Paul, etc [without surname], conformably to the custom of the first disciples of Christ and to sublime Christian simplicity.

¹³⁸ In a letter from J. R. Tyson and J. F. Fisher to Jared Sparks, who published it in his edition of "The Works of Benjamin Franklin", Boston, 1836, Vol. VII, p. 192.



Penn at the Age of Twenty two

William Penn that ever was painted'. A duplicate of this picture was presented by Grenville Penn to the Pennsylvania Historical Society in the year 1833. It is a highly interesting picture. The hair hangs in long, flowing locks, and the countenance is handsome, intelligent, expressive of benevolence, and somewhat pensive. The portrait was painted in the interval between his first serious impressions, and his final conversion to Quakerism. He had been in France, where his father's hope of his return to worldliness had been partially realized. For a short time, he had it in contemplation to accept a commission in the army. Hence he is attired in the armour which was in fashion at that period, and the motto, *Pax quaeritur Bello*, inscribed on the picture, is significant of the principles he had adopted. This cannot be the portrait, mentioned in the above letter¹³⁹ as belonging to Lord Kames, because the original has always been in possession of the Penn family. It is moreover painted on canvass, but Lord Kames's was on a board; and it is destitute of the 'whisker', with which the face of that picture was adorned."

Penn's first imprisonment at Cork, Marsillac dwells upon at length, because of his conviction that "the greatest good fortune which can come to a religion is to be persecuted," and that Penn's persecution helped to strengthen and increase the Quaker society. His imprisonment in London Tower, also, fills a score of pages, although fourteen of these are taken up with a letter of Penn to Lord Arlington. In mentioning the writing of "No Cross, No Crown" (*Sans la croix point de couronne*) in the Tower, Marsillac refers to its translation into French [1746] by his fellow-countryman and fellow-Quaker, Claude Gay, on whom he writes an interesting note¹⁴⁰. Penn's imprisonment in the Old Bailey and the famous trial of himself and William Mead is mentioned briefly in Marsillac's text, but he gives in forty-five pages in an appendix to his first volume Penn's own account of it; he

¹³⁹ This was a letter from Franklin in regard to another alleged portrait of Penn, cf *infra*, pp 117 f.

¹⁴⁰ A copy of the first edition of Claude Gay's French translation of "No Cross, No Crown" is preserved in the Friends' Historical Library of Swarthmore College, it has upon its fly-leaf the name of Adey Bellamy, who may have received it from his friend and correspondent, Jean Marsillac.

also records in twenty-five pages his examination before Sir John Robinson and his imprisonment in Newgate.

Marsillac's brief tribute to Penn's first wife, "Willelmine-Marie Springett",¹⁴¹ is as follows: "A young woman whose virtuous disposition, joined to beauty and to a most agreeable exterior, made an accomplished person." Referring to her death, after twenty-one years of a married life marked by "the most tender and heartfelt affection and the most intimate communion of spirit," he reprints (on five pages) Penn's tribute to her. Of Penn's second wife, Hannah Calowhill, he merely says that "she was a young woman, modest and religious, with whom he passed the rest of his days. She bore him four sons and one daughter." But in recording the death of his eldest son, Springett, he gives (on eleven pages) Penn's tribute to him.

Living on the Continent, it might be hoped that Marsillac would have something new to tell us of Penn's journeys to Holland and Germany and of the societies of Friends which he helped to found there. But, alas, he merely culls from Penn's account of these and fills three-fifths of his own (55) pages relating to them with religious letters. Penn's interviews and correspondence with the Princess Elizabeth interested him most. Of Quakerism in Holland, he mentions only the debate in Amsterdam with "Galen Abraham", and says that it "resulted only in talk (*rumeur*) because the parties, obliged to communicate with each other through interpreters, found so much difficulty in being understood that the meeting ended without coming to any decision whatever."

The New World has somewhat more interest than Holland for Penn's French biographer. Part of one page is given to Penn's connection with West New Jersey, in which, he says, "a large number of English families took refuge and formed flourishing establishments, so that within a few years this country became a considerable plantation which has steadily continued to increase and prosper down to this day. The principal city in this territory is Burlington, situated on the great river de la Delaware."

¹⁴¹ Later, he calls her "Guillelma Maria".

POINT de CROIX,

POINT de COURONNE:

Si, 2301

OU

T R A I T ' E

Sur la NATURE & la DISCIPLINE de la

Sainte CROIX de *CHRIST*:

Qui montre que de Renoncer à Soi-Même, & de charger sur soi de Jour en jour la CROIX de *CHRIST*, est le seul Moyen pour parvenir au Repos & Royaume de DIEU.

Par G U I L L A U M E P E N N.

Traduit de l'Original par CLAUDE GAY.

SECONDE EDITION, revue & corrigée..

Et JESUS dit à ses Disciples, si quelqu'un veut venir après moi, qu'il renonce à soi-même, & qu'il charge de jour en jour sa CROIX & me suive Luc. ix. 23.

J'ai combattu le bon Combat, j'ai achevé la Course, j'ai gardé la Foi: quant au reste, la COURONNE de Justice m'est réservée, & le Seigneur juste Juge me la rendra, en cette Journée-là; & non seulement à moi, mais aussi à tous ceux qui auront aimé son Apparition.
2 Tim. iv. 7, 8

Imprimé à B R I S T O L

Par SAMUEL FARLEY, M. D. C. C. XLVI.

The story of Pennsylvania begins the second volume and fills 71 of its 300 pages; but more than half of these 71 are filled with Penn's letters, while 70 pages in the Appendix are devoted to Pennsylvania's constitution of 1776, and a half-dozen more to Governor John Penn's examination in the same year at the bar of the House of Lords. These suffice, Marsillac thinks, to record all that Penn did of importance in America.

Like most Europeans, Marsillac was especially interested in the Indians, "the natives of the country," he calls them, "whom we inhumanly call savages." He quotes the Indians as telling the first Quaker colonists that "the land which you come to take from us does not belong to you"; and when an Englishman assured them that the English king had sold it to William Penn, the Indians replied: "Has your king the right to sell that which is not his?" Marsillac admits that he does "not know the very words of the Indians, but repeats the above as the most probable and the most consistent with what contemporary historians report." This conversation was reported to Penn, Marsillac says, "his heart was moved by it, he felt the justice of the claim, and he purchased his province a second time at the price asked of him by the former inhabitants." The "treaty of peace and friendship" between them, Marsillac calls "the most memorable no doubt ever made on earth, since it was the only one which was never sworn to and the only one never broken." In a foot-note he adds "Voltaire judiciously observes that it was the only treaty never written, signed, nor broken."¹⁴²

Philadelphia had made a great impression upon Marsillac even by this time, several years before his settling there, and he says of it in his "Life of Penn": "Since it had been begun with a feeling of concord and mutual affection, it was given its beautiful name which means in Greek fraternal friendship (*amitié fraternelle*)." Its founder's original plan for it "was to extend the town to the banks of the two rivers, the Schuylkill and the Delaware, marking out eight large streets traversed by sixteen smaller ones in parallelograms, leaving at intervals vacant tracts of land for the formation of plazas,

¹⁴² Was the familiar phrase first quoted really Marsillac's and not Voltaire's?

but for convenience of trade, the residents have swarmed [over these plazas] down to the banks of the Delaware where ships find adequate ports."

Thus was Penn's "green country town" transformed into a metropolis by its too great success. But it never lost, during the Quaker régime, its tolerance. The "Germans (*Allemands*),¹⁴³ Swedes and Danes" received Penn as their father and were treated on terms of entire equality with his English children. Rejecting entirely the intolerance and persecution prevalent elsewhere, he attracted to his colony the adherents of a hundred different sects, each of them being permitted to retain its manners, opinions and customs. Referring to Penn's journey along the Rhine in 1677, Marsillac says that the Friends at Krisheim (*Chrysém*), whom he visited then, afterwards removed to Pennsylvania; but he does not appear to have realized that most of the real Germans of Pennsylvania came to their trans-Atlantic home in the next century and from the Rhineland where Penn sowed his fruitful seed even before Pennsylvania was dreamed of.

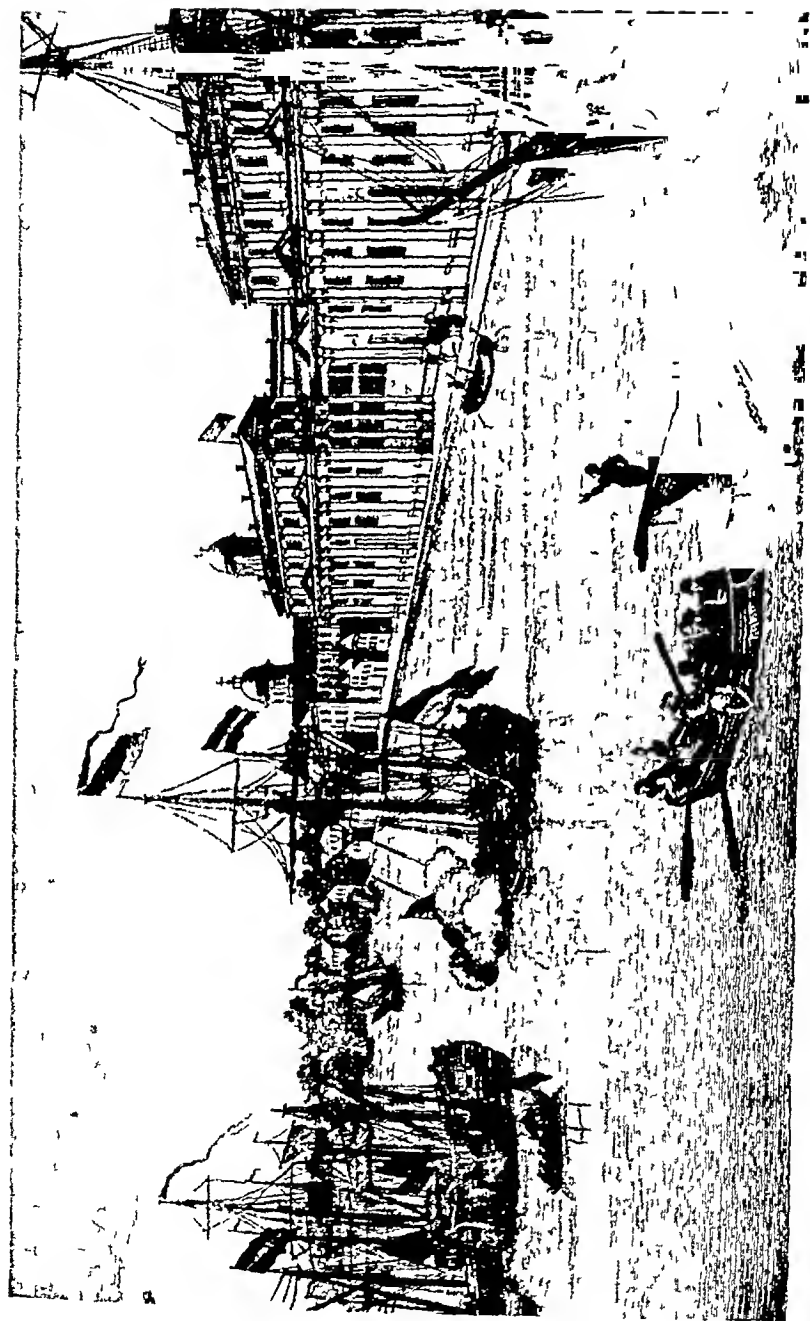
Marsillac had probably met with Penn's Prayer for Philadelphia; and although he does not refer to it in his book, he writes of the city as if inspired by it.¹⁴⁴ It was written by Penn in a letter to American Friends from the ship on which he was returning to England in 1684, and was as follows:

"And thou, *Philadelphia*, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been, to bring thee forth, and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee!

"Oh, that thou mayst be kept from the evil, that would overwhelm thee; that, faithful to the God of thy mercies, in the life of righteousness, thou mayst be preserved to the end:—My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayst stand in the day of tryal, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power;—my love to thee

¹⁴³ Marsillac so calls the Dutch, and even says that Newcastle (Delaware) was inhabited chiefly by the Germans.

¹⁴⁴ Robert Proud of Philadelphia, whom Marsillac doubtless knew, published this prayer in his "History of Pennsylvania". Proud's History did not come from the press until 1797, but was written fifteen years before



*La Ville Capitale de Pensylvanie Province Nord-Américaine William Penn a qui Charles II. Roi d'Angleterre donna
 cette Province entre la planta en 1682 entre deux fleuves navigables et l'appela Philadelphie paroxphie les habitants
 y vivoient dans une harmonie fraternelle
 Præmment c'est David qui saint Jacques au coin de celle des Mathurons vers 1534, que de Tournes*

has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects mine heart and mine eye!—the God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee, to his glory and thy peace.”

Marsillac gives more space to Penn's tribulations in England between 1684 and 1699 than he does to his entire connection with either the continent of Europe or America—a defect in his book which was due probably to his following the example of English writers and Sewel. The last seventeen years of Penn's life are described in as many pages, most of these being filled with an account of his illness and death and with a reprint of Penn's Preface to the Journal of John Banks.¹⁴⁵ “After a decline slow and continuous,” Marsillac writes of Penn's death, “which lasted nearly six years without meeting with any of those violent accidents which often render so grievous the end of human life, he lapsed into unconsciousness and on the 30th. day of the fifth [month],¹⁴⁶ 1718, at the age of seventy-four years, his soul prepared for a more glorious sojourn and abandoned its decayed tabernacle (*vase d'argile*).”

These last paragraphs were translated almost *verbatim* from the last page of Joseph Besse's Life of Penn, but the six lines of Besse's summary of Penn's character are expanded by Marsillac into a six-page panegyric which harked back to the great days and the noble ideals of the Holy Experiment in Pennsylvania.

Of the last years of Penn's French biographer himself, a few rather singular details are known. After a visit which he made to the Friends in England in July, 1792, he was recalled to France to serve as a physician in the hospitals overcrowded with the victims of war. The terrifying events of 1793 and 1794, so inconsistent with his Quaker professions, were the probable cause of his flight from France to Pennsylvania, that land which he had described in his “Life of William Penn” as a land of peace and felicity. He arrived in Philadelphia probably in the spring of 1795, at least in time to attend the sessions of the Yearly Meeting in September of

¹⁴⁵ Marsillac states as his reason for including this that “it is the last writing published by Penn, and is remarkable for its precision and its intelligence.” It was written in 1712, just before Penn's “stroke” of paralysis or apoplexy.

¹⁴⁶ In 1701, as now, called Seventh Month, or July.

that year. Three months later, he applied for regular membership in the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Friends and was accorded it in January, 1796. He continued active among the Philadelphia Friends, championing the cause of the Negro and the Indian, and practising medicine. In May, 1797, he was severely injured in a driving accident, his companion being thrown from the carriage and killed. Thereafter, his conduct was erratic to such an extent that some critics believe he never had been a sincere Friend, but had come to Philadelphia as a spy for Napoleon!

Whether because of his illness, or because Napoleon's star was now ascendant in France, he left Philadelphia in June, 1798, bearing a letter of commendation and "certificate of removal" from the Friends' meeting in Philadelphia to that in Cong  nes. After his departure, a rumor prevailed among the Philadelphia Friends that he had renounced his Quakerism as soon as his ship had reached the ocean; and this was a special cause of grief to his fellow-Frenchman and Quaker convert, Stephen Grellet. The details of this rumor were that he had "fiddled" and danced, dressed in "Fashionable Clothing" and had his hair "que'd and Powdered, &c "

Nothing more is heard of Marsillac until after Napoleon's downfall in 1815. A letter written by him from Paris in September of that year to an English Friend, declares that neither "time, distance, nor revolutions, &c &c, have diminished the high Esteem and tender attachment that I have cherished for them [other English Friends], despite the excessive rigor of the judgment of the American Friends at the time of my return to France." He acknowledges that he had "done well and done ill, but never with the intention of doing evil, and nearly always tried to repair wrongs done to others." He states further that he had "often written, thought and spoken of *your* society¹⁴⁷ with all the Respect due to the purity of your Principles and to the sublime ethics (*morale*) which you profess." At that time, he says, he had "retired from the world after twenty-five years had allayed

¹⁴⁷ Stephen Grellet said (in 1798) that he would write first to Marsillac about his non-Quaker conduct and then to the Friends in France, perhaps the latter "disowned" him, or he voluntarily resigned from the society.

(*amorti*) and calmed the intrigues and dissipated the jealousies which had sought to destroy" him. He still signed himself "Marsillac Lecoïnte¹⁴⁸ ex Physician in chief in the hospitals of France", and gave his address as "Rue des Mauvaises Paroles No. 12 à Paris." Perhaps the intrigue and jealousies referred to were those of his colleagues who procured his resignation or dismissal from what appears to have been an important official post in Napoleon's medical service.

The impression which William Penn continued to make upon Marsillac's non-Quaker fellow-countrymen during the century of *sturm und drang* which followed the publication of his Life of Penn may be estimated from what two French biographers said of him.¹⁴⁹

M Vullhemin's conclusion (1855) was as follows: "If Penn had been what Voltaire said, he should rank among the demi-gods; and if he had been what Macaulay believed, his lot should be, if not in those regions of the inferno where Dante discovered go-betweens and simoniacs (*entremetteurs et simoniacques*) being scourged without cessation and without pity, at least among those men whom Penn himself denounced when he told us that it is folly in politics as well as in morals to do evil for the sake of good. But William Penn deserves neither adoration nor contempt.

"We have not concealed his weaknesses (*côtés faibles*); but on the other hand we have seen him walking with God and displaying in all circumstances a rare benevolence, a persevering and disinterested activity. Wherever he came, he inspired confidence, he re-awakened sleeping consciences; he brought with him exaltation of soul and faith in a better future. He inspired, at least among some of his contemporaries, the effort to achieve that better future. There is I know not what royal glory, whose rays derive from Christ the leader, around those who follow in his footsteps. They retain it under ignominy, during tribulation, in death. Wherever they go, they exert a secret influence, intimate and profound. They persuade and command by their attitude; they

¹⁴⁸ This name comes apparently from that of the noble house of Conti, or Conty

¹⁴⁹ Cf *supra*, p. XVII

cause humanity to push on, almost in spite of itself, towards its destiny, towards the goal of its aspirations. They do not exercise this beneficent rule only during their life-time; they continue it after their death. They are the leaders around whom the sincere friends of a true civilization love to rally. Thus they do good long after they have ceased to breathe. This is why we set a value on cherishing their memory, preserving a faithful picture of them, and preventing their remembrance from being either lost or perverted."

Mme. Vincens, writing ninety years after Marsillac, said that Penn had remained for many people a mythical rather than a historical personage; that "his figure scarcely stood out from the confused silhouettes of the obscure fanatics who troubled Seventeenth Century England, and posterity had seen it only through a cloud of mysticism which blurred (*noyait*) its contours. This effacement of one of the most original of historical physiognomies has been due to Penn's religious rôle. His early biographers were more preoccupied with explaining and justifying the teachings of the apostle than with bringing into relief the work of the man of action. The author of 'No Cross, No Crown' and of so many other dogmatic writings made them forget the founder of Pennsylvania and even, at times, the founder of the Society of Friends."

An epitaph on this society and a vicarious epitaph on Penn himself Mme. Vincens writes on her last page, as follows: "As to the sect which he so dearly loved and of which he with Fox is the most glorious representative, it continued to exercise a prodigious influence out of all proportion with the number of its members. The Society of Friends has been at the head of nearly all great works of benevolence. One recalls that it took the initiative in the abolition of slavery; it made the first efforts toward the moral reformation of criminals, the amelioration of the penitentiary system and the moderation of the penal code. The Friends aided in founding the Bible Society and in giving to England its primary schools. Finally, a few years ago, General Grant, president of the United States, intrusted to them the negotiation of a treaty with the Indians (*Peaux-Rouges*) designed to secure the



Penn's Statue on top of Philadelphia's City Hall

safety of the railroad linking the Atlantic with the Pacific (*le grand Océan*).

“Despite this large and legitimate influence, the number of the Friends is decreasing . . . This fact has nothing which should sadden the Friends, for as their number decreases, their ideas are spreading through the world, and modern society has appropriated them in large measure to itself. Their work is accomplished; but the inspiration of their apostles is making itself felt across the centuries. How many of our modern reformers are, without knowing it, disciples of Fox and of Penn!”

CHAPTER VII

PENN'S FIRST SPANISH BIOGRAPHY

The first and only biography of William Penn in the Spanish language was published, not in Mother Spain, but in Mexico. Even the huge Spanish encyclopaedias, like the „Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada“¹⁵⁰ with all its seventy-eight volumes, have only a brief sketch of him. There is a Biographical Sketch (*Bosquejo Biográfico*) of Penn in the Spanish language, published in Philadelphia (54 pages, 8vo without date); but this is a translation of a compilation in English which was published by the Society of Friends in German and French, as well as in Spanish, in 1907.

For a full length life of Penn in the language of Spain, we must turn to her American daughter, Mexico; but although this is written in excellent Spanish, it too is a translation from the English. Its original was entitled “A Memoir of William Penn”, and was published in Philadelphia in 1858, by the “Association of Friends for the Diffusion of Religious and Useful Knowledge.”¹⁵¹ This memoir in turn was based on “A Brief Memoir of William Penn”, published in London, in 1857, by the Tract Association of the Society of Friends. The Philadelphia edition of the book included a good many more details relating to the Indians than appeared in its London predecessor, and for this reason was regarded as especially suitable for translation into Spanish for distribution among Spanish-American peoples

¹⁵⁰ Espasa, Barcelona, 1930–1933, 70 volumes (down to 1930) + supplementary volumes (down to 1933) In Volume 43, pp 342–3, there are two long columns in small print, which afford the longest biographical sketch of William Penn which I have been able to find in the Spanish language and published in Old Spain The references in this sketch are to Besse, Marsillac and some modern authors, including Clarkson, Janney and Dixon None of these have been translated into Spanish, and there are no references in Spanish given Surely, the hospitable land which produced Don Quixote and Cortez might have been more interested in their English Quaker antithesis! There is no article on Penn in Volume 8 of the supplement

¹⁵¹ This association was incorporated in 1860 under the name of “The Book Association of Friends”, which name it still retains

The Spanish "Memorials of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania" (*Memorias de Guillermo Penn, Fundador de Pensilvania*) is a book in 12mo, with eight chapters and 131 pages. Its title-page reads: MEMORIAS DE GUILLERMO PENN; and, below a vignette. H. MATAMOROS Imprenta de la Sociedad de Amigos, 1879 "H MATAMOROS" does not stand for either author or publisher, but for the present Mexican city of Matamoros. In 1879, when the book was published, Matamoros still called itself Heroico Matamoros, after the heroic Mexican patriot, Mariano Matamoros, who took an active part in the war of 1812-14 against the Spaniards, and was captured, court-martialed and shot. Since Matamoros has become a full-fledged city, it has dropped the adjective and retained only the name of its hero.

The frontispiece of the book is the so-called Francis Place portrait of Penn at the age of fifty-two, a copy of which (together with one of Hannah Penn made by the same artist at the same time) was brought to Philadelphia in the year 1875¹⁵² This was taken from the original portrait in the George Allan collection, in Blackwell Grange on the Tees, County Durham Its author was an eccentric but gifted English amateur artist, who was born in Durham County and died in 1728; he was about forty-nine years old in 1696, when the portrait is said to have been made.¹⁵³

The title-page of the "Memorials" is adorned, very naturally, with a group of Indians who are exemplifying the study of the arts and sciences under the tutelage of a Mexican Minerva. Seven other illustrations in the book portray Penn at his mother's knees, Penn receiving a visit from his mother in the Tower, his disembarkation at Chester, the Treaty with

¹⁵² These copies were hung in the State House ("Independence Hall") beside Benjamin West's painting of the "Treaty with the Indians", and were later taken to the adjacent City Hall, where they still hang

¹⁵³ Horace Walpole refers some of his "Anecdotes of Painting" to him Some critics believe that the Place portrait is really one not of William Penn, but of his father, the Admiral, but as far as similarity goes, there is a striking resemblance between the father's portrait as painted by Lely and the son's portrait in armor, and it is even possible that the so-called portrait of "William Penn in Armour" is not that of William the Quaker, but of his father, William the Admiral

the Indians, and his sermon to them, the head of an Indian brave and the full-length figure of an Indian girl.¹⁵⁴ Five of the illustrations were taken from an anonymous *Life of Penn* published in Boston (for "Young Americans") in 1848, or from the Philadelphia reprint of this book, 1849. The frontispiece, the vignette on the title-page, the head of an Indian brave, and the figure of an Indian girl were probably made for the translation itself.

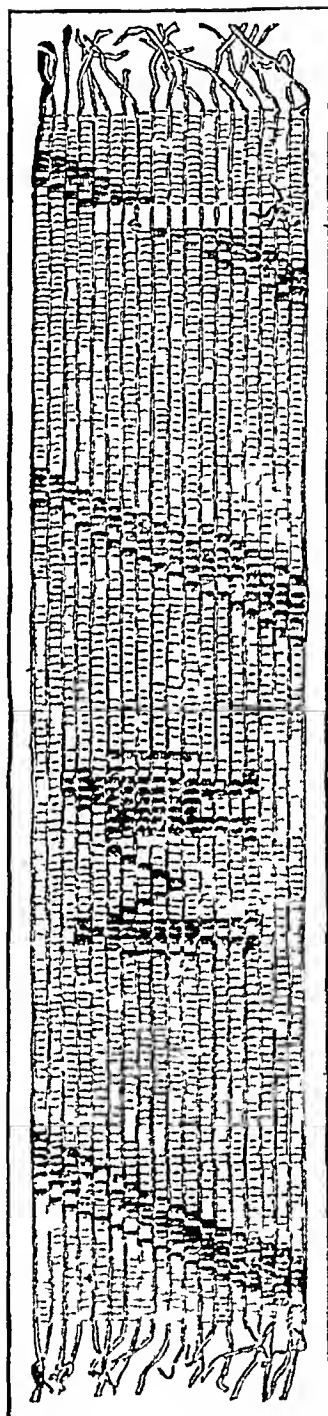
As in the illustrations, so in the text, the Indian theme is prominent; a little less than one-third of the book treats of Pennsylvania affairs, and a little more than one-third of these pages deal with the Indians. Since our Mexican biographer met in his youth with Indians of Canada and worked long and intimately with the Indians of Mexico, it is of interest to find a note (on Page 56) referring to the profound impression of gratitude made upon the Indians of even a distant time and place by Father "Onas", (the Indian word for *pen*), or *Pluma* (as *pen* is called in Spanish) The note reads as follows: "In the spring of 1863, the translator was present at a meeting of the Society of Friends on Yonge Street in Upper Canada,¹⁵⁵ where an Indian from the shores of Lake Huron preached in the morning session [for worship] and mentioned with tender affection 'Your great Penn, the Father Onas of our traditions, whose interest in the uplift of the aborigines (*la raza indigena*) we have perpetuated in our records.' "

The translator also emphasizes by an additional sentence "the full security and prosperity enjoyed by the unarmed colonists in Pennsylvania as the fruit of their beneficent policy of peace (*la paz bienhechora*)".

The "Great Treaty at Shackamaxon" is described in all its picturesque details, the part played by the *Grande Olmo* (large elm-tree) and its fall in 1810, loom large; Penn's and the Indians' speeches are given in full and direct discourse; the proceedings are characterized by the translator himself as very solemn and simple (*sencillo*) but very moving (*con-*

¹⁵⁴ Cf *supra*, the List of Illustrations

¹⁵⁵ Yonge Street runs north from Toronto The meeting referred to was probably at New Market



‘ The Indians’ Record of the Great Treaty”

movedora), and as brief but full of important lessons for the legislators of future centuries. The Wampum Belt, alleged to be the Indians' record of the occasion, and presented to Penn's representative in Philadelphia in 1715, is duly described by the translator in a foot-note as a belt of "wampum," the name which the Indians give to a kind of small beads (*cuentas*) made of shell and threaded so as to serve as a record of a historical event, contract, or promise. "The orators know exactly," he adds, "the tradition which is associated with all the belts, and these are used like spoken books in the assemblies of the tribes, and also as reckonings of money."

The peaceful character of the Quakers is emphasized in the translation of Penn's speech, to which is added the words. "Being people of peace, we have come in peace, without arms, to which indeed we are not at all accustomed"; and the comment: "The Indian name of Onas or Penn (*Onas ó pluma*) has ever since been cherished in the hearts (*bajo*) of those peoples. while other colonies were kept in terror by bloody wars with the Indians, the peaceful farmers (*pacíficos labradores*) of Pennsylvania dwelt unarmed in the fullness of a security and the enjoyment of a prosperity which were the fruits of this beneficent pacifism."

Penn's "Holy Experiment" (which becomes *este experimento sagrado* in the Spanish) is linked up with "a peaceful asylum for his persecuted brethren, as well as for the good and oppressed of every nation"; with "the toleration of sects and full religious liberty"; with a system of education which should include both rich and poor, and be designed for everyday practical life instead of for training in the ministry, with "a government founded upon the true¹⁵⁶ principles of Christianity"; and with an attempt "to treat the savage with such consideration as to open a broad highway (*camino*) for the acceptance by him of the precepts of the Gospel." Not only is peace between the Quakers and Indians placed in the foreground of the book, but its Spanish translator adds a statement of his own that the boundary dispute between

¹⁵⁶ The English edition reads "the pure and peaceable principles of Christianity"

Penn and Lord Baltimore, Penn succeeded finally in settling by peaceful means (*amistosamente*).¹⁵⁷

Penn's great herald of modern international government, the "Essay toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe", receives seven lines in the English edition, as follows: "Another subject which he took up was that of war,



"Penn's Settlement with Lord Baltimore"

then [1693] producing great misery; and in an 'Essay', etc, he suggested the idea of a general representative assembly on the continent for securing peace between the several governments,—an idea which has of later time been repeatedly revived." The Spanish edition includes this, with the additional characterization of war as "a subject of surpassing (*sobresaliente*) importance, the fountain-head of misery and perdition"; and it says of Penn's plan that it was "an idea which has been often revived by advanced thinkers "

The Quaker crusade for the abolition of Negro slavery, also, appealed strongly to our Mexican author. After stating the action of the Yearly Meetings of 1688 and 1696 regarding

¹⁵⁷ The English edition merely reads "Penn was ultimately successful "

it, he adds the foot-note: "It can be said without vanity that the emancipation of the slaves in the British provinces and in the United States of the North has been due to the efforts of the Society of Friends against this stain (*mancha*) on Christian lands. Throughout almost a century, they toiled like——[? The print is imperfect] in this service; and in the present century, the great instruments of emancipation have been set in motion (*impulsados á moverse*) towards fulfilment by the writings and efforts of the Friends, and by their numerous petitions to the governments of Europe and America." The buying, selling and holding of men in slavery, our author adds, were opposed to the sentiments of the governor and council of Pennsylvania, but its assembly, being composed of men of diverse political views and diverse religious faiths,¹⁵⁸ nullified the efforts of Penn to ameliorate the condition of the slave.

References to the Roman Catholics are not omitted by the Spanish translator, who includes in his account of the trial of Penn and Meade the English recorder's exclamation: "Never until now did I appreciate the policy of the Spaniards in tolerating the Inquisition; it will never be well with us until there is established in England a similar (*semejante*) tribunal." Penn's defense against the charge of Jesuitism and Popery (*romanista, popiamo*) is given fully and frankly;¹⁵⁹ and a full chapter, of thirteen pages, refutes in detail Macaulay's recent revival and elaboration of these charges.

There are sundry but unimportant omissions in the Spanish edition, such as a stanza of English verse,¹⁶⁰ parts of the headings to Chapters IV and V; titles and pages of books quoted, especially those of Macaulay's charges; the date of one of Penn's letters; and the name of the Lenni Lenape Indians, who are called Delawares. On the other hand, there are sundry additions, such as explanatory notes on terms like "Captain General of Ireland" and the "Test Act";¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ The English edition reads "being composed of men of various characters"

¹⁵⁹ Although in one place, "Popery" is translated as merely *despotism*

¹⁶⁰ "The specious inconveniences that wait

"Upon a life of business and of state

"He sees, nor doth the sight disturb his rest"

¹⁶¹ Statements of sums of money in pounds sterling are translated into dollars by multiplying them by five

additional headings to Chapter III; and the statement that Gulielma Springett was the *only* daughter of Sir William and Mary Springett.



John Bunyan's Dream

For the benefit of Spanish readers, there is added a note on John Bunyan, who is referred to as having been liberated from prison in 1685, together with 1400 Friends and some other Dissenters of eminence. The note reads: "John (*Juan*) Bunyan, author of *The Pilgrim's Progress, or the Mystical Traveller* (*El Progreso del Perogrino, ó El Viador*), was

a minister of the Gospel in the Baptist Church; a man of great natural talent, his works reveal an acute understanding and a style simple and energetic which converted many to faith in the Gospel. Since there were no other Baptists in the jail at Bedford, Bunyan's name was included in the petition of the Quakers to have the king's proclamation of indulgence valid for him as well as for them."

To give the proper dramatic setting to Penn's letter to his wife and children on the eve of his first journey to America, our Spanish author heads it in very large type and introduces it with the words "Vividly impressed by the perils which he must encounter and with the brevity of human life, Penn wrote, a little while before undertaking his voyage, a letter to his wife and children which was filled with tenderness and which was to afford them a constant reminder of the Christian life. For the use of others, we copy it *in toto* in this place"¹⁰²

The Spanish forms of familiar English names are at first rather startling to English readers. G Penn stands, of course, for *Guillermo*, which makes William Penn seem more akin to his wife, *Guhelma*. Although his signature is not imitated in the Spanish edition, it is always printed in scroll type "Quakers" becomes *Cuácaros*, or *Tembladores*, but the term *Amigos*, or *Sociedad de Amigos*, is preferred "Holland" is given in one place as *Alemania*, and in another as *Los Países Bajos*; Hannah Callowhill is called *Ana*; the various Jameses (James Logan, James II, etc.) are called *Santrago*; and the Indian chieftain "Corn Planter" masquerades as *Sembrador de Maíz*.

Penn's familiar books, too, take on an air of strangeness in their Spanish titles "Truth Exalted" becomes *La Verdad Enalzada*; "The Sandy Foundation Shaken", *El Fundamento Arenoso Derrumbado*; "No Cross, No Crown", *No Hay Corona sin Cruz*, and "Fruits of Solitude", *Frutos del Aislamiento*.

Our Spanish translator evidently determined to accomplish his task *verbatim*, if not *literatim*, and he showed con-

¹⁰² The English edition merely says "One of his last effusions at that time was the following memorable letter, full of tender affection and Christian advice, which he addressed to his wife and children before quitting England"

stant self-restraint. Occasionally, he did permit himself an original comment; for example, when Penn's servant is said in the English edition to have brought him word in the Tower that the Bishop of London had resolved to make him publicly recant or to die in prison, the translator adds a parenthetical remark: "A singular message to a prisoner accused of treason!"

The last note struck in the book is one of praise for the responsiveness of the Indians to just and kindly treatment. It is in the form of an appendix giving a quotation from a speech of Senator Houston of Texas, in which he declares, on the basis of long and intimate knowledge of them, that he had never failed to conciliate them wherever he had tried to do so: "And how? By even-handed justice (*equidad y justicia*). Hold the scales of justice suspended with a steady hand between yourself and the Indian, and you will have no danger from him: it will not be necessary to suspend the sword above his head, like the sword of Damocles. Why, sir, with one twentieth part of the money expended to support an army on the frontier, or even less, you could feed the Indians and clothe them in comfortable garments; and then you would need no army to take care of your fortresses and keep your arms in order; for I am sure you never can rely on a regular army, unless you make it like the European armies, of hundreds of thousands of men."

Thus were the words of Sam Houston, a frontier statesman well but not favorably known among Mexico's people, made to echo the benign policy which William Penn, the beloved Quaker statesman, put into successful practice in the wilds of Pennsylvania nearly two centuries before.

The author of this Spanish version of the life of Penn remains anonymous on its title-page and throughout the book, except for a foot-note on page 56. This tells of his attending a meeting of the Society of Friends in 1863 near Toronto, Canada; and this clue with others leads us to the conclusion that its author was a Quaker missionary in Mexico, named Samuel A. Purdie.

He was born near the town of Columbus, New York, March 5, 1843. In the winter of 1863-64 (as well as at other times), he taught school in Smyrna, about a dozen miles from Colum-



Samuel A Pundie

bus, and not far to the southeast of Toronto and New Market, where the Friends' meeting referred to was held. After teaching school in North Carolina and learning to read Spanish from chance Spanish neighbors and acquaintances, he went as a missionary, in 1871, to Matamoros, Mexico.

Here he founded the Mexican mission for the Friends' Foreign Missionary Association (which was later taken over by the Executive Committee on Foreign Missions of Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends), and worked for it with headquarters in Matamoros for a quarter-century. He then started the mission in Salvador and Honduras,¹⁶³ but after two more years of labor, he accidentally cut his hand and died of "lock-jaw", so prevalent in the tropics, on August 6, 1897.

At Matamoros, he began his work by distributing tracts for the American Tract Society and copies of the Bible for the American Bible Society. This led him to start a publishing house of his own (which was presented him by Friends of New York in 1872), from which he issued a monthly periodical, *El Ramo de Olivo* (The Olive-branch) and many other religious publications. A series of First, Second and Third Readers, a "Primary Geography", a "Primary Arithmetic", and other school-books in Spanish, although decidedly evangelical in their teaching, were prepared and were rapidly introduced in many public as well as missionary schools throughout Mexico. At that time, most of Mexico's Spanish books were published in Paris, and Purdie found a good home-market. Indeed, so widespread was their use that a Mexican bookseller once said to Purdie: "Your children's books have been the opening wedge which has prepared Northern Mexico for the Gospel."¹⁶⁴

Some idea of the difficulties met with in this pioneer printing-establishment is glimpsed from Purdie's remark: "Translating, selecting pictures, etc, keep us very busy and then we have to do all the printing I love to print, yet it is tiresome, especially to the feet and legs to stand up all day when working the press."¹⁶⁵ They managed, however,

¹⁶³ For the Evangelical, Undenominational Central American Mission

¹⁶⁴ *Friends' Review*, Vol 33 (1880), p 646

¹⁶⁵ James Purdie Knowles, "Samuel A Purdie", Plainfield, Indiana, 1908, p 72

to print 4000 pages 16mo per day, after the type was set, but it took them one-fourth of a day to set one page of type. By 1879, he was able to say that "our publishing department is now the most extensive publishing house of evangelical literature in the Spanish language in all Spanish America."¹⁶⁶

In June, 1878, he received from New York more new type and a stereotyping outfit which he desired to use first on a Life of William Penn. He had been drawn to undertake this task, not only by his Quakerism, but especially by his love of peace. Writing in 1885, he said:¹⁶⁷ "My attention was called to this field [Mexico] because having become interested in the spread of peace principles for which I had suffered somewhat during the war which desolated my native land, I longed to do something to stay the tide of blood which was being shed in intestine strife in these countries and to give them the Gospel of peace and purity in place of their superstitious Romanism and the degrading influence of their priesthood."

During the Civil War in the United States, to which he refers in the preceding paragraph, he had been drafted at the age of twenty-one into the New York State militia, but refused to attend its drills and parades and was tried by court-martial and fined the modest sum of \$5 for his neglect to do so. It is not known how else he "suffered somewhat" during the war; but his youthful clash with militarism made him doubly sympathetic with the peace principles of Penn and the Quakers.

In 1876, too, he and his family were caught in the midst of the Revolution started by Porfirio Diaz, who captured Matamoros (the Purdie house being struck by one of his cannon-balls) and made the city his northern capital. In the midst of war, Purdie prepared for peace and set to work vigorously on his Spanish Life of Penn. Finally, in the *Friends' Review* of Philadelphia for November 15, 1879,¹⁶⁸ there appeared the following advertisement:

"MEMORIAS DE GUILLERMO PENN, FONDADOR DE PENNSILVANIA, is a neat duodecimo translation of the Philadelphia

¹⁶⁶ *Friends' Review*, Philadelphia, Vol 44, p. 481

¹⁶⁷ Knowles, *op. cit*, p. 59.

¹⁶⁸ Vol. 33, p. 217.

small edition of the Life of William Penn, issued by the Friends' Mexican Mission press at Matamoros. The paper is fair and the printing clear. The edition has been printed from stereotyped plates cast at the Mission, and the whole is at the cost of the Trustees of the Mosher Fund of New England and New York Yearly Meetings. As a frontispiece it has a likeness of Penn, and there are five other illustrations, including the treaty scene, and Penn's landing at Chester. This volume is soon to be followed by Penn's Rise and Progress."¹⁶⁹

It adds piquancy to the story of the flood of peace propaganda which poured out of the Friends' mission in Matamoros to learn that it was established in the house recently occupied by General Palorios, commander of the Mexican forces in Matamoros, and that "very probably his former office is our book-room, the peace office of Friends for Spanish America."¹⁷⁰

As early as 1872, Purdie had written that he and his wife were then "as able to write and read Spanish as we are our native tongue."¹⁷¹ His, doubtless, was the lion's share of the work on "William Penn"; but he evidently had zealous assistants. His wife was probably the chief of these. Her name was (appropriately enough for work on a Life of the husband of Guelma Maria Springett!) Guelma Maria Hoover. She was a North Carolina Friend whom he met when teaching in that State and married in 1869.

Luciano Mascorro, a Mexican convert to Quakerism and a preacher, aided in the translation in various ways; and Emihana Incarnacion Flores, another convert of the mission, copied and corrected all the translations. Perhaps the pictures of an Indian chieftain and maiden in the Life were in memory of their substantial aid, as well as for illustrative purposes in the text.

Another individual who labored in the mission during

¹⁶⁹ "A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers", first published in 1694 as a preface to George Fox's Journal, and reprinted many times since

¹⁷⁰ Knowles, *op cit*, p 70

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, p 75 But a score of years later he wrote "It is to me quite difficult to translate from Spanish to English, all my work for 23 years having been in the opposite direction" (*Ibid*, p 182).

these years and who doubtless helped greatly with the Penn Life as in many other ways, was an American by the name of William A. Walls. Among his other activities, he opened a training-school for teachers in the mission house; and when it was destroyed in the great tornado of August, 1880, he superintended the rebuilding of it. Purdie's letters in the Seventies and Eighties have frequent reference to him; and we learn of tornados, floods, yellow fever, small-pox, malaria, anaemia and plagues of locusts, which he helped the mission through and struggled with himself. He it was, too, who was called upon most often to make long and arduous journeys inland, to distribute literature, visit the sick, and administer the outlying affairs of the mission

So adept did he become in the distribution and sale of religious literature that the American Bible Society sought and procured his services as colporteur, both in Mexico and among the increasingly large number of Mexicans in Texas. His success as a "Bible Distributor" on the frontier was "most marvellous"; so much so that he had to make frequent long journeys back to his headquarters in Webster, Texas, to renew his supplies.¹⁷² He even made many sales for cash; and he mingled his book-selling with evangelical and moral work at camp-meetings and revivals; so that his career is strongly reminiscent of that other book-selling preacher and author on William Penn, namely, Mason L. Weems.

One narrow escape which he made from death at the hands of highwaymen he has left on record, giving the details, not so much of his own intrepid presence of mind and serenity which saved his life, as of the many curious thoughts which flashed through his mind as he faced the five-barelled pistol and long knives of his three assailants.¹⁷³

In Mexico, Walls found not only enemies and friends, but a wife as well—one of the mission converts, Conception Aguilar, whom he married at Matamoros in August, 1881. The bride and groom were soon given a mission-station of their own (by the Friends' Missionary Committee of Ohio

¹⁷² *The American Friend*, Vol I, p 567.

¹⁷³ Quoted from his article in the *Christian Worker* by Knowles, *op cit*, pp 132-6



The School for Mexican Teachers

Yearly Meeting), at Escandon, Mexico, where they worked from 1881 to 1883. They then returned to Matamoros, and he took up his teaching again until he entered upon the work of the American Bible Society.

The last letter written by Samuel A. Purdie, from San Salvador in August, 1897, five days before his death, was addressed to Walls, his long-time friend and co-laborer. The latter, writing of Purdie after his death, says that "as in most of the works Samuel Purdie had to translate the whole, to read and correct the proofs, set up a good deal of it, and then to bind the finished work, it will be seen that it was no sinecure. Lives of Penn, Elizabeth Fry, George Fox, Grellet, Manual of Holness, and other books were published in this way. He had an unusual knowledge of Spanish, and besides translating one work each year, wrote a good deal of original matter." Truly, Samuel Purdie was a worthy follower and biographer of that other pioneer Quaker missionary, William Penn.

To Penn himself, there is the following brief tribute by an encyclopaedic author of old Spain ¹⁷⁴ "Endowed with a very delicate instinct, he was unable to conform to the coarse habits of his time; and, constrained by his ideals of tolerance and humanity, he turned (*puso*) his attention to the virgin forests of America to make in them the experiment of a new social order. This experiment, as one author says, held (*tuvo*) its greatness, its decline, its fall, its lessons, its hopeful promise (*fecundidad*), and its faults."

¹⁷⁴ "Enciclopedia Universal Illustrada", Vol 43, p 343

CHAPTER VIII

PENN'S FIRST ITALIAN BIOGRAPHY

Italian literature's first account of Penn, as has been explained in the Preface, is that included within Gerolamo Boccardo's „Nuova Enciclopedia Italiana“.¹⁷⁵ This is a bare sketch of his life, but is interesting because of the materials which its author appears to have used, and to which he refers at its end.

Having stated that “the Legislator of Pennsylvania” was born in London in 1644 and studied at Oxford, where he heard Tommaso Loe the Quaker preacher and stopped attending the Reformed [*riformata*] Church, our Italian author says that he then held conventicles (*particolari rademanze*) and showed such an independence of opinion that he was expelled (*scacciare*) from the university. He then mentions Penn's visit in France “and the Netherlands”, on which his father sent him “to diminish his enthusiasm and his obstinacy (*ostinazione*).” This experiment failed, however, and further conferences with Loe soon caused him to profess publicly the faith of the Quakers (*quaccheri*).

His imprisonment in Ireland was followed by expulsion from his father's house; but no persuasion nor compulsion could induce him to yield, or to oppose in the slightest degree what he claimed to be the divine will.

Preaching and imprisonment followed each other in England and Ireland, but with the only result of inflaming his courage and increasing his fame. George Fox, “the patriarch of the sect”, honored him with a visit in London and took him with him to propagate in foreign lands the doctrine of the Friends (*Amici*), “as the quakers call themselves in England and Holland.”

From these journeys he returned to find his father on his death-bed. From the latter's estate he received an annual revenue of 1,050 pounds sterling and a claim of £16,000

¹⁷⁵ Vol. 16 (1884), pp 1230-31 The illustration used is the bust of Inman's full-length portrait.

lo fece scappare dal Collegio. Suo padre era un vecchio m. francese e nei Paesi Bassi manteneva il suo entusiasmo per la sua patria. Quando Penn ne ritornò con le medesime opinioni, non mancò le sue confidenze con l'ammiraglio. Penn fu subito a far pubbliche proteste contro la condotta di quel che fu imprigionato per qualche tempo in Irlanda, non rivale suo padre che partiva sicuro dall'essere punito. Tutte le cose che gli furono fatte non poterono indurlo a dire in nulla, ma a contrastare energicamente, e che se continuava l'evoluzioni di lui. Nel 1668 fu mandato a predicare ed a scrivere per le sue sette.



Fig. 101 — Penn (C. H. H. H.)

Lo scandalo fu grande nella Chiesa inglese, e l'ardente predicatore sotto sette mesi di carcere nella Torre di Londra. Appena messo in libertà, andò in Irlanda a continuare le sue prediche contro i casi di uccisione e prigione. Avendo le persecuzioni ministrate vieppiù il suo coraggio e cresciuta la sua celebrità, fu chiamato in Londra da una società di G. Fox, patriarca della setta, col quale andò a propagare in paesi stranieri la dottrina degli Unitari (che così chiamavansi i quaccheri in Inghilterra e in Olanda) e ritorno in patria per assistere suo padre negli estremi suoi momenti. Questi gli aveva finalmente perdonato e gli lasciava 100 sterline di rendita ed un credito di 16.000 verso la corona per certe spese da lui fatte nelle spedizioni marittime. Penn si fece duce nel 1684 in pagamento di quel credito la proprietà e signoria del territorio contiguo alla Nuova Jersey e situate a ponente del Delaware. Egli destinava quel territorio, che fin d'allora prese il nome di *Pennsylvania*, a essere l'asilo dei settari d'ogni culto. Avendo molte famiglie d'Inghilterra e di Scozia accettate i suoi inviti, esso incaricò i suoi commissari di andare ad installarle in quella nuova patria, o vi si recò egli stesso l'anno seguente. Cominciò a trattare amichevolmente coi selvaggi del prezzo delle terre da essi ceduto, le pigliò, fece loro dei presenti per meglio assicurarsene l'amicizia e convocati insieme i coloni fece loro accettare uno statuto di 24 articoli che si era di base a quello degli Stati Uniti nel 1776. Costui l'indifferenza, pose ogni cura a stringer vicoli di amicizia tra i selvaggi e i coloni, o due anni dopo, lasciato il go-

verno a cinque commissari, ritornò in Inghilterra, benedetto da una popolazione che egli aveva reso felice. Visse tranquillo e in pace sotto il nome di m. divenne sospetto sotto la dinastia che succedette agli Stuart, e fu quattro volte citato dinanzi a Londra. Gli fu tolto il governo di Pennsylvania, ma fu restituito nel 1696. L'anno seguente, con un suo tutto fece prolungare a tempo indefinito la discussione di un progetto di legge contro i testimoni stranieri che la Camera dei Pari doveva esaminare. Nel 1699 ritornò in America, dove passò due anni, e andò a visitare il territorio di cui era duce e dai selvaggi l'amicizia disse loro addio per sempre. L'occasione della sua partenza era il nuovo progetto del ministro inglese di spogliarlo del suo governo, e l'amicizia in che si trovava per conseguenza delle gravi spese che aveva dovuto fare, e varie altre molestie, da cui la protezione della regina Anna non pote difenderlo, sparsio di amarezza gli ultimi suoi giorni.

Mori nel 1718, ma molto della Società Reale di Londra. A lui si debbono molti opuscoli in inglese, che furono raccolti nel 1726, in fol. precedenti alla data dell'editore, e ristampati in Londra sotto il titolo di *Opere scelte* 1722. 4 vol. L'elenco ragionato degli altri suoi scritti non può aver luogo in questo compendio, ma si possono consultare per più ampie le seguenti opere: *Racconta storica della costituzione del governo di Pennsylvania dalla sua prima origine* (Londra 1729), questa scritta e di Franklin, il quale non mostra di tenere l'opinione giusta intorno ai talenti ed alle virtù di Penn, che Montaigne chiama il *moderno Fenice*. *Storia della Pennsylvania di Penn* 11 del 1713. 2 vol. in 8, e principia le due *Memorie della vita pubblica e privata di Benjamin Penn* per Thomas Clarkson (Londra 1813. 2 vol. in 8), non che Dixon, *William Penn, an historical biography*.

PENNA (scol. e tecn.) — Lo strumento di cui servono gli antichi per scrivere coll'inchiostro d'istinto, e qualunque era non piccolo e non di misura in latino *calamus*. Inutile sarebbe parlare del bulino, di cui si fa uso per incidere i caratteri sul legno e sui metalli, e della stilo di cui servivansi gli antichi per scrivere su tavole intagliate di cera. Si può osservare a questo proposito che in alcuni manoscritti che ci si portano dalle Indie Orientali, scritti sopra foglie di palma, veggonsi tracciati i caratteri e quasi incisi con uno speciale stilo. Osserva il Bickmann che se gli antichi avessero conosciuto l'uso delle piume d'oca per scrivere, avrebbero consacrato quell'uccello a Minerva invece di consacrare a quella dei del sapere un coccodrillo. Si pretende che Isidoro, il quale però era più antico del vi secolo, abbia parlato il primo delle piume come di strumento inserviente alla scrittura, dicendo: *Instrumentum scribæ calamus et penna*. Ma questo si vorrebbe trarre la conseguenza che le canne e le piume fossero impiegati simultaneamente per alcuni secoli, ma che finalmente nel x secolo ebbe a prevalere l'uso delle piume, e fu questo esclusivamente adottato, almeno in Europa.

Per scrivere e per disegnare si usano piume di *varie qualità: quelle per le quali si usano le più comuni sono tolte dall'ala dell'oca. Ve ne ha di due sorta:*

against the crown for expenses incurred in maritime expeditions.

In 1684 [sic] he received in payment of these claims "the domain and government of the territory contiguous to New Jersey (*Nuova Jersey*) located west of the Delaware." This territory, which took from that time the name of Pennsylvania (*Pensilvania*), he designed to become the refuge of the sects of every religion. Many families in England and Scotland having accepted his invitation, he sent his commissioners to install them in their new country, and he himself went there the next year.

He began from the first to deal amicably (*amichevvolmente*) with the savages concerning the value of the land ceded to him, and paid them for it, also made them presents for the better security of their friendship. At the same time, he assembled his colonists and procured their acceptance of a statute of twenty-four articles which served as the basis of the constitution of the United States in 1776 (!).

Having built (*costrui*) Philadelphia and taken every care to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the savages and the colonists, he left the government in the hands of five commissioners and returned to England, at the end of two years, followed by the blessings of a people whom he had made happy.

He lived peacefully and in favor under James II; but under the dynasty which succeeded the Stuarts he became suspect,¹⁷⁶ and was cited four times before the courts. The government of Pennsylvania was taken from him, but restored in 1696. The following year, he caused by one of his writings¹⁷⁷ the indefinite postponement of the discussion of a bill against blasphemy which the House of Lords was considering.

Our Italian author in this case, as in that of the charges of Jesuitism and Jacobitism, does not explain the gravamen of

¹⁷⁶ Our Italian author does not specify the charges of Jesuitism and Jacobitism, but merely says that he became suspect (*divenne sospetto*)

¹⁷⁷ This was his "Caution humbly offered about Passing the Bill against Blasphemy", which was published anonymously, without place, date, or printer's name. It was published in his "Works", 1726, Vol II, pp 883-4.

the alleged blasphemy. It was, in fact, a bill for the punishment of "any person who should deny any of the Persons in the Holy Trinity to be God." Penn's arguments against this bill, which he circulated among the peers may have influenced them to reject or table it, as our author implies.

Penn's second and last visit to Pennsylvania in 1699-1701 was accompanied, we are assured, by great respect and affection on the part of both colonists and savages towards him. The "farewell forever" which he bade them was due to a new design on the part of the English ministry to despoil him (*spogliarlo*) of his government. The financial embarrassments, also, in which he was involved by his necessarily heavy expenses, and various other troubles (*molestie*) from which the favor of Queen Anne could not shield him, mingled with bitterness his last days. "He died in 1718, a Member of the Royal Society of London". What an epitaph for *William Penn*!

Our author having mentioned in the course of his sketch only one of Penn's writings (the Letter on the Blasphemy Bill), says at the end of it. "We owe him many small treatises (*opuscoli*) in English, which were collected in 1726, in folio, preceded by a Life of the author, and reprinted in London, in 1782, under the title of *Select Works*, in four volumes."¹⁷⁸ The enumeration of his other writings cannot be given space in this compendium, but for further information, the following works may be consulted."

The list of references which this Italian author now gives begins, strangely enough, with Benjamin Franklin's "Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania, from its Origin, etc."¹⁷⁹ This is followed by Proud's "History of Pennsylvania",¹⁸⁰ and ("principally") Thomas Clarkson's "Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn." The titles of these three books are given in Italian, but the last one mentioned, that by William

¹⁷⁸ This edition had five volumes. The second edition in one royal folio volume, in 1771, is not mentioned.

¹⁷⁹ It was first published (in London) in 1759, but its date is given in the Italian sketch as "Londra 1729."

¹⁸⁰ The date of Proud's book is given as "Filadelfia 1745", but it was not written until 1782, or published until 1797-8.

Hepworth Dixon, is given its English title "William Penn: an historical biography."

Dixon's biography, which was published in 1851 and a new edition in 1852, was chiefly noteworthy for its refutation (the first to be made) of Macaulay's charges against Penn. His subsequent editions continue the refutation of Macaulay; but none of them mention Franklin. Our Italian author, who introduces Dixon's book with the words *non che* (i.e. "not to mention", or "of minor importance") may have been convinced that Dixon had not annihilated Macaulay's charges; but he was evidently more impressed by Franklin's, for he comments upon his book as follows: "This work is by Franklin, who appears not to hold the general opinion about the talents and virtue of Penn, whom Montesquieu called 'the modern Lycurgus.'"

It is rather surprising that the charges of Benjamin Franklin—who is quite as distinguished even in literature as is Lord Macaulay—should have been relatively neglected by the other biographers of Penn. Six of these since 1900 make no mention of them; one repeats a story of Penn in Franklin's autobiography, with the comment that "Franklin is not an impeccable witness where Quakers are concerned."¹⁸¹ Robert Proud, the first historian of Pennsylvania (1797-8) answers indirectly some of Franklin's charges, but without mentioning his name.

George Bancroft, the first great historian of the United States, writing in 1850, makes no mention of Franklin's charges of aristocracy, etc., against Penn, but compares Penn's ideas of government with those of John Locke and much to the advantage of the former. Janney's *Life of Penn* (1852) has only a single sentence in regard to Franklin's charges, which states them to have been based on "the spurious remonstrance of 1704, which *was not the act of the Assembly*, but a tissue of misrepresentations concocted by Lloyd and his party in the name of that body and signed by him as Speaker after it adjourned."

Indeed, as early as 1708, fifteen years before Franklin arrived in Philadelphia, a historian of the British colonies,

¹⁸¹ Bonamy Dobrée's "William Penn", 1932.



Benth Franklin

John Oldmixon, wrote: "The trouble that has been given Mr. Penn lately about the province of Pennsylvania . . . he has been involved in by his bounty to the Indians, his generosity in minding the public affairs of the colony more than his own private ones; his humanity to those who have not made suitable returns; his confidence in those that have betrayed him, and the rigour of the severest equity: a word that borders the nearest to injustice of any."

Jared Sparks, the editor of Franklin's "Works" in 1836, accepts the conclusion that the "Historical Review" was not written by Franklin himself "although", he says, "it was written under his direction and doubtless from copious materials furnished by him" Sparks adds: "The author [of the "Review"] is accused of having touched the name of the great founder of Pennsylvania with too rude a hand. If it be so, time has repaired the injury. Facts must have their own weight, because they are unchangeable and everduring; but the memory of William Penn cannot be tarnished by unfounded imputations, nor his character wounded by the misdirected darts of party zeal."

The latest editor of Franklin's writings, Albert Henry Smyth (1907), omitted the "Historical Review" from his edition because, he says, "Franklin assured Hume that it was not of his writing."¹⁸² But he adds. "There can be no doubt that Franklin prompted the writing of the book. The ideas are his and he approved of its purpose, which was the promoting the claims of the Pennsylvania Assembly in their controversy with the Proprietaries [in the 1750's]. He did all in his power to circulate the work in England and America. . . . To paraphrase Queen Elizabeth in the play, 'Whose hand soever held the pen, his head all indirectly gave direction.' But this is not authorship."¹⁸³

Our Italian author of the sketch of Penn, and many thousands of other writers and readers, accepted the verdict of three other editors of Franklin's writings that his was both the voice and the hand that gave utterance to his charges or prejudices against Penn.

¹⁸² In a letter dated Coventry, September 27, 1760

¹⁸³ Smyth's "Franklin's Writings", Vol. I, pp. XII, 137-8

The "Historical Review"¹⁸⁴ notes first the absolute government under the British crown which was given to Penn and the assembly chosen by him over his province by the charter of Charles II. The twenty-three sections of the charter, Franklin says, "are penned with all the appearance of candor and simplicity imaginable; so that, if craft had anything to do with them, never was craft better hid." It may also be inferred, he adds, that it was Penn's diligence that obtained these necessary authorities from the crown.

Penn's "Frame of Government" is next analyzed with the comment: "At the head of this Frame or system is a short preliminary discourse, part of which serves to give us a more lively idea of Mr. Penn's preaching in Gracechurch Street than we derive from Raphael's cartoon of Paul preaching at Athens; as a man of conscience he sets out; as a man of reason he proceeds; and as a man of the world he offers the most plausible conditions to *all*; to the end that he might gain *some*. . . . But in the following year, the scene of action being shifted from the mother country to the colony, the deportment of the legislator was shifted too. Less of the man of God now appeared, and more of the man of the world.

"One point he had already carried against the inclination of his followers; namely, the reservation of quitrents, which they had remonstrated against as a burden in itself, and, added to the purchase-money, was without precedent in any other colony; but he artfully distinguishing the two capacities of proprietary and governor, and insinuating that government must be supported with splendor and dignity, and that by this expedient they would be exempt from other taxes, the bait took, and the point was carried.

"To unite the subtlety of the serpent with the innocence of the dove is not so easily done as said. Having in this instance experienced the weight of his credit and the power of his persuasion, he was no sooner landed, than he formed a double scheme for uniting the province [Pennsylvania] with the territory [Delaware], though it does not appear he was properly authorized so to do, and to substitute another frame

¹⁸⁴ Printed in full in Sparks's edition of Franklin's "Works", 1836, Vol. III, pp. 109-577. The part that relates to William Penn fill pp. 116-208

The FRAME of the
GOVERNMENT
OF THE
Province of Pennsylvania
IN
A M E R I C A :

Together with certain

L A W S

Agreed upon in England

BY THE

GOVERNOUR

AND

Divers **FREE-MEN** of the aforesaid
PROVINCE.

To be further Explained and Confirmed there by the first
Provincial Council and General Assembly that shall
be held, if they see meet.

Printed in the Year MDCLXXXII.

of government in lieu of the former; which, having answered the great purpose of inducement here at home [in England] for collecting of subjects, he was now inclined to render somewhat more favorable to himself in point of government ”

Franklin then proceeds to accuse Penn of various other transgressions against popular self-government, but relies upon the forged protest of the Assembly in 1704 already mentioned as the basis of his accusations. Then, attributing to Penn as his pretence for leaving Pennsylvania in 1684 his dispute with Lord Baltimore, the Review follows Penn through the reign of James II, very much to Penn's discredit, and even declares that “James's impolitic plan of restoring the Roman ritual by universal toleration seems to have been almost inspired by him ”

The struggles of the royal governors under William III with the Quaker Assembly of Pennsylvania for military supplies, the union of Delaware with Pennsylvania, and the varied incidents of Penn's second visit in 1699-1701 Franklin made the basis of a detailed and elaborate argument that Penn's “freemen found reason to think they could not take too many precautions to secure themselves against him ” As a result of their struggle with him, they finally procured in 1701, a new charter of government which gains Franklin's faint praise The good that was in it he explains as follows “How much soever the governor had grown upon Mr. Penn and how much soever his concern for others had worn off, when raised to a sphere above them, it is plain he had not forgotten his own trial, nor the noble commentary upon Magna Charta which, in his tract called ‘The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted’, he had upon that occasion made public, wherein he says . . . ”

It is evident that the chief complaint of the “Historical Review” against Penn and his fellow-Quakers was their opposition to even defensive war Since it was written at the crisis of the Seven Years' War, when the struggle for North America between the English and French was not yet decided, even Franklin's latent pacifism could not tolerate this opposition, although he later developed an almost Quaker-

like abhorrence of all war. In the Review he writes: "Mr. Penn and his followers were of that sect, who call themselves by the amiable and levelling name of *Friends*; and who, having been at first opprobriously called by that of *Quakers*, have been forced, by the joint tyranny of imposition and custom, to answer to it ever since.

"Of these, the majority carried along with them a scruple, better accommodated to the forming of a society and preserving it in peace, than to the protecting it from those insults and depredations which pride and lust of dominion have at all periods committed on their weaker neighbours, and from the visitation of which no system of politics, morals, or religion, hath as yet been able to preserve mankind. . . . The same regard to conscience, which led them into this wilderness, adhered to them afterwards; and, having thus resolved and provided never to be aggressors, and not being sovereigns, they left the rest to Providence. Governed by principle in all things, and believing the use of arms to be unlawful, the case of defence by arms could not come within their plan."

Of Penn's peaceful policy towards the Indians of Pennsylvania, Franklin did approve. "The Indians", he wrote, "from the very beginning, had been considered and treated [by the Quakers] as equally the sons of one common father. Land wanted by us was a drug to them. The province, then to be allotted, peopled, and cultivated, had not been wrested from them by violence, but purchased for a suitable consideration. In the contract between the proprietary and his sub-adventurers, all possible care had been taken, that no cause of complaint should be administered to them; in trade they were not to be overreached or imposed upon; in their persons they were not to be insulted or abused, and, in case of any complaint on either side, the subject matter was to be heard by the magistrates in concert with the Indian chief, and decided by a mixed jury of Indians and planters."

These charges of Franklin against Penn in 1759 were answered a half-century later by Penn's painstaking biographer, Thomas Clarkson,¹⁸⁵ whom our Italian author calls his

¹⁸⁵ Vol II, pp 295-306

principal authority, and who says: "The other writer alluded to [besides Lord Lyttelton, Bishop Burnet and Mr. Nairne] and the last whom I shall notice as having cast improper reflections upon William Penn, was the celebrated Dr Franklin in his 'Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania from its Origin,' published in 1759. In this Review¹⁸⁶ we find, among others, the following passages . . ."

The charges of exacting quit-rents from his colonists for the purpose of "supporting government with splendour", and of opposing the wishes of the Assembly, were those against which Clarkson directed most of his defence. So thoroughly did he succeed in his vindication that neither the subsequent biographers of Penn nor of Franklin refer to them again. It is therefore not a little remarkable that the *Italian* author of Penn's biographical sketch should have revived a reference to them. It may be that this was merely a means of making some Italian *riposte* to the Frenchman's, Montesquieu's, eulogy of Penn.

The Italian author's own remark that Penn's "statute of twenty-four articles served as a base for that of the United States in 1776", Franklin would doubtless have criticized as being not only chronologically inaccurate, but also as an historically extravagant claim for Penn. It is of interest, however, to find the names of the two great Pennsylvanians linked together in the story of the founding of the American Union.

Franklin was the author of a well-known plan of union for the colonies which he proposed at the Albany Congress of 1754. Fifty-eight years before this, in 1696, Penn had proposed a plan for their union which is but very little known and has been almost completely ignored even by his biographers. Even Robert Proud, the historian of Pennsylvania, writing at the time of the formation of the American Union, makes no mention of Penn's plan as a precursor or basis of it.

¹⁸⁶ "He wrote it, though it was attributed to one Ralph, to prejudice the people against the Proprietary-family, in order to effect a change of Government from Proprietary to Royal, which was afterwards attempted, but which to his great chagrin failed. This failure laid the foundation of his animosity to Great Britain, which was so conspicuous afterwards" (Clarkson's note)

Franklin himself does not mention it, and says in his Autobiography that he wrote his own plan on his way to the Albany Congress. But from a letter he wrote in 1751, it is evident that he had been meditating upon it a long time before. It is quite probable that in his meditations had mingled the ideas of his great predecessor in Pennsylvania and American governmental affairs.

The story of Penn's plan of union proposed in 1696 is as follows. The year before, he had received a letter from a New York correspondent suggesting the desirability, from the military point of view, of having a common governor for the northern colonies, at the same time preserving their political and economic diversities.¹⁸⁷ The next year, when the Lords of Trade and Plantations were set up as the administrative head of the colonies, they took up the idea of union, also chiefly for military reasons, and Penn appeared before them to discuss it.

On his first appearance, December 11, 1696, he first protested against the export duty levied by New York on goods sent to New Jersey, and then referred to the defence demanded by the former against the French and Indians. "He spoke also," the record runs,¹⁸⁸ "of the Quota required from the neighboring Colonies for the defence of New York And said that he conceived the best way of regulating it would be, by stated Deputies from each Province, to meet in one common Assembly: The effecting of which was observed to require one Captain General or Vice Roy to preside. But upon these heads he was desired and he promised to draw up a scheme more fully in writing "

Two months later (February 8, 1696/7), he submitted a plan, the chief features of which were as follows. Its provision for a congress of twenty representatives from the ten colonies to "hear and adjust all matters of Complaint or differences between Province and Province" was indeed a forerunner of the Supreme Court of the United States, whose most important task has been to settle by judicial process disputes (now numbering ninety) between the sovereign

¹⁸⁷ New York Colonial Documents, Vol IV, p 224

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p 246

States of the Union Thus it was that Penn's dream of 1693 of a congress of nations which should settle disputes between the sovereign states of Europe came to its realization in the New World and was embodied in a constitution adopted in his own city of Brotherly Love

The jurisdiction also which he specified for the congress, namely, over fugitives from civil process and criminal justice, over inter-colonial commerce, and over the union and safety of the colonies, was afterwards specified in the constitution of 1789. The local autonomy or sovereignty of the colonies was left unimpaired in his plan, and was also safeguarded in the Federal Union

Penn's plan for the congress to provide for the "safety of these Provinces against the publick enemies," and his suggestion that it could more easily and equally fix "the Quotas of men and Charges", does certainly appear to be inconsistent with his rejection as a Quaker of all war and preparations for it It was, to be sure, only a "defensive" war, for which he was providing, and he evidently thought that if the colonies were to be forced into this, they could more sensibly provide for it than could distant England.

He did not at this time, as in his "Essay" of 1693, have in mind the prevention of war by the coercion of recalcitrant nations, and it is not clear from either the "Essay" of 1693 or the "Plan" of 1696 that he would have advocated military coercion of sovereign nations Apparently, the military force which he envisaged in 1696 was to perform the function of an "injunction", while the force of 1693, whatever its character was to be (military, economic, or moral), was to perform the function of a "mandamus."¹⁸⁹

His Quaker contemporaries viewed these sops to Cerberus, or concessions to Mars, as undermining their and his principle of peace; and there is on record a letter from one of them, a Dutch Friend named Geertruid Deriks, and his reply to it, which illustrate the point at issue Geertruid wrote him of some *cannon* which she had been told were in the Quaker colony, and he replied as follows. "There was an old timber house below a gaol, above the sessions house, that had seven

¹⁸⁹ Cf the author's edition of Penn's "Essay", Philadelphia, 1918

small, old iron cannon upon the green about it, some on the ground, others on broken carriages; not one soldier, or arms borne, or militia-man seen, since I was first in Pennsylvania. So that I am as innocent of any act of hostility as she herself;¹⁹⁰ for the guns lying so, without soldiers, powder, bullet, or any garrison, is no more than if she bought a house with a musket in it, and the guns are to go to New York, for they belong to that place; however, I take it kindly of her."

The cannon in Quaker Pennsylvania in 1683, and the provision for military defence in Penn's plan of 1696, he evidently regarded as part of the old régime. The new, "Holy Experiment", he hoped would enable the world to discard both.¹⁹¹

To Benjamin Franklin we owe an interesting story about one of the two contemporary portraits of Penn and one of the spurious ones. Writing from London to Lord Kames (Judge Henry Home, of Scotland), on January 3, 1760, he said:¹⁹² "Your Lordship's kind offer of Penn's picture is extremely obliging. But, were it certainly his picture, it would be too valuable a curiosity for me to think of accepting it. I should only desire the favor of leave to take a copy of it. I could wish to know the history of the picture before it came into your hands, and the grounds for supposing it his. I have at present some doubts about it; first, because the primitive Quakers declared against pictures as a vain expense; a man's suffering his portrait to be taken was conceived as pride; and I think to this day it is very little practised among them. Then, it is on a board; and I imagine the practice of painting portraits on boards did not come down so low as Penn's time, but of this I am not certain. My other reason is an anecdote I have heard, viz. that when old Lord Cobham was adorning his gardens at Stow with busts of famous men, he made inquiry of the family for the picture of William Penn, in order

¹⁹⁰ His reply to Geertruid's question was sent to his old friend, Steven Crisp, whom she married two years later. Cf. Monograph Number Two (pp. 382 ff.)

¹⁹¹ For further elucidation of this point, see the author's articles in the *Friends' Intelligencer*, Vols. 89 (1932), p. 850, and 90 (1933), p. 71. "William Penn and Sanctions"

¹⁹² Jared Sparks, "Works of Benjamin Franklin", Boston, 1836, Vol. VII, p. 187



WILLIAM PENN
From Bevan's Ivory Medallion

to get a bust formed from it, but could find none; that Sylvanus Bevan, an old Quaker apothecary, remarkable for the notice he takes of countenances, and a knack he has of cutting in ivory strong likenesses of persons he has once seen, hearing of Lord Cobham's desire, set himself to recollect Penn's face, with which he had been well acquainted; and cut a little bust of him in ivory, which he sent to Lord Cobham, without any letter or notice that it was Penn's. But my Lord, who had personally known Penn, on seeing it, immediately cried out, 'Whence comes this? It is William Penn himself!' And from this little bust, they say, the large one in the gardens was formed.

"I doubt, too, whether the whisker was not quite out of use at the time when Penn must have been of an age appearing in the face of that picture. And yet, notwithstanding these reasons, I am not without some hope that it may be his, because I know some eminent Quakers have had their pictures privately drawn and deposited with trusty friends; and know, also, that there is extant at Philadelphia a very good picture of Mrs. Penn, his last wife. After all, I own I have a strong desire to be satisfied concerning this picture; and as Bevan is yet living here, and some other old Quakers that remember William Penn, who died but 1718, I would wish to have it sent to me carefully packed up in a box by the wagon (for I would not trust it by sea), that I may obtain their opinion. The charges I shall very cheerfully pay; and if it proves to be Penn's picture, I shall be greatly obliged to your Lordship for leave to take a copy of it, and will carefully return the original."

The editor of Franklin's "Works" comments upon this letter as follows. "Dr. Franklin's doubts, respecting the above picture, were probably just. Mr. Tytler says, in his *Life of Lord Kames*, that it was sent to Dr. Franklin, and never returned, but the fact of its not having been known in Philadelphia, nor ever heard of since the above letter was written, is strong presumptive proof, that it was not a portrait of William Penn." It is quite possible that if the portrait was sent to Franklin, and he showed it to Bevan, the latter's repudiation of it was regarded as decisive.

Of the bust of Penn by Bevan, two Philadelphia cor-

respondents of Franklin's editor about 1836, write as follows:¹⁹³ "There are but two original authorities for the likeness of William Penn. One of these is the bust made by Sylvanus Bevan, from recollection after Penn's death. It is probable that Bevan himself executed several busts, and others have been carved in imitation of his model. Lord Le Despenser adorned his grounds at High Wycombe, in England, with a statue of Penn, the head of which is a copy of Bevan's bust. After the death of Lord Le Despenser, that statue was purchased by John Penn, and presented to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and it now stands in front of the hospital buildings. Its material is lead, bronzed.¹⁹⁴ James Logan possessed one of Bevan's busts carved in wood, which was placed in the Loganian Library, and was burnt there in the year 1831. The engraved portraits of William Penn in Clarkson's *Life of him*, and in Proud's *History*, and also the medallions in common circulation, are all from the same model. They are consequently imperfect resemblances. Bevan's delineation was likewise drawn from the appearance of William Penn in the last years of his life, when old age, sedentary habits, and a decayed intellect, left little in his countenance but its good nature."

In the eighteenth volume of Boccardo's, „*Nuova Enciclopedia Italiana*“,¹⁹⁵ there is a brief article on the Quakers or Tremblers (*i quaccheri ó trematori*), in which Penn is referred to as one of their first apostles. He accompanied Fox to Ireland and Germany, the author of this article says; but in the former land, only a few disciples were induced to join them, these being known by the name of prophets or prophesiers (*profete o profetanti*), and in the latter, they were even less successful.

Turning to America, our author says that Penn then acquired Pennsylvania, founded the city of Philadelphia and supplied it with laws. And then come the surprising statements: "However opposed they might be to war, the Quakers were nevertheless constrained to take up arms against the savages who destroyed their property and chased them

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, p 192

¹⁹⁴ Cf. *supra*, p 42

¹⁹⁵ Pages 832-833

fondo l città di Filadelfia e la provvide di leggi per avversi che fossero alla guerra, furono ciononostante i quaccheri costretti a prender le armi contro i selvaggi che devastavano i loro possedimenti e inseguirli siccome belve feroci. Ne rifiutarono di militare nell'ultima guerra per la libertà americana, prova che gli odierni quaccheri non ispiungono il fanatismo tant'oltre quanto i loro predecessori, o furono forzati ad adattarsi alle circostanze.

Concedesi in Inghilterra che in generale i quaccheri professano una scrupolosa probità e sono più costumati che il comune del popolo. Vanno essi cionondimeno scemando da un dì all'altro, perchè, siccome non conformisti, sono esclusi dalle cariche



Fig. 5335 — Prima cappella dei quaccheri a Filadelfia

e dignità, e perchè il fanatismo, qualora non sia mantenuto dalla contraddizione, si va a poco a poco estinguendo. I quaccheri, meno ignoranti dei loro antecessori e meno caparbi, hanno alla fine compreso che il disprezzo delle convenienze rende ridicola la virtù.

I quaccheri moderni hanno temperato alquanto l'austerità esterna e le forme rigide degli usi dei loro avi. Addivenuti ricchi dal tempo che dalla campagna passarono ad abitare le città, non poterono impedire che il contagio del lusso non si traforasse tra loro coi cattivi esempi. I principii della loro educazione anstera si sono rilassati un poco, ed i loro giovani hanno preso gusto alla musica al teatro, al ballo. Le quaccheresse hanno abbandonata l'acconciatura nera del capo ed il grembiale verde, cui le loro avole attaccavano molta importanza, hanno bensì conservate le antiche forme di vestiario, ma innestandovi fiori e penne per renderle più eleganti. I quaccheri di età matura si attengono rigorosamente al loro cappello di larga fa'da, e non usano fibbiagli, bottoni, ecc., ma molti tra i giovani si avvicinano allo mode, ed esse piegandosi fino a certo segno. Quantunque tollerati, sono però ritenuti come gran peccatori e quasi disertori della setta. Il colore ortodosso del vestito è il bianco, si tollera il bigio ed il bruno, il rosso è proibito, il vestir di nero poi sarebbe un contrassegno di vera eresia. Concludiamo che i quaccheri, generalmente considerati, sono da tenersi come persone morigerate, umane e pacifiche.

Meno l'Inghilterra e l'America, il quaccherismo non pote gittare altri radici profonde. In Olanda, nella Germania, nella Prussia e sino in Francia ve ne furono e ve ne sono tuttora, ma in così piccole proporzioni da non valer la pena d'occuparsene. In America, a Filadelfia, sorse la prima cappella o tempio della setta, di cui diamo una veduta nella figura 5335, per dimostrare col fatto come i settarii seguissero nel loro culto modi semplici ed austeri.

QUADI (lat. *Quadi*, gr. *Κομάδοι*) (*etnogr.*) — Grande tribù germanica nel S. E. della Boemia, nella Moravia ed Ungheria, tra il monte Gabreta (*Mons Gabreta*, *Gabreta* o *Gabrila Silva*, oggi *Böhmerwald* nel N. della Baviera), la Selva Ercinia, i monti Sarmatici ed il Danubio (Tacit., *Germ.*, 42, Ann., xii, 29, *Hist.*, iii, 5, 21, Ptol., ii, 11, § 26, Plin., iv, 25). Il primo a ricordarli, fra gli antichi, si è Strabone, col nome di *Coldui* (*Καλδοί*), vocabolo in cui gli etimologi ravvisano la radicale celtica *col*, *cold*, *cona*, foresta, selva, bosco, e quindi i *Coldui*, *Coandui* o *Quadi* sarebbero stati gli abitanti delle cuppe e vaste foreste della Germania orientale, come i loro vicini ed alleati Marcomanni, il cui nome è sempre collegato col loro, abitavano le marche o frontiere, e perciò appunto si addimandavano gli abitanti de' confini, i confinarii (*Marimanni*). Cesare, che noveva i Marcomanni fra le popolazioni germaniche di cui componevasi l'esercito di Ario Visto, non nomina in alcun luogo i Quadi, o Tacito, le cui nozioni sulla Germania erano meno vaghe di quelle del commentarista conquistatore, li nomina espressamente e li pone accanto agli Ermunduri ed ai Narsiti, immediatamente vicini ai Marcomanni (Cæs., *De Bell. Gall.*, i, 51, 2 Tac., *Germ.*, xxviii, e *loc. cit.*, Mommsen, *Römische Gesch.*, t. iii, pag. 228). Compariscono nello stesso Tacito come tribù inquieta, bellicosa e conquistatrice, appartenevano alla grande nazione degli *Svevi* o *Svebi* (nome di popoli erranti) o confuavano all'E coi Jazigi Metanasti (*Jazygus Metanastæ*), avendo frammezzo i Granui, al N. coi Gotori (oggi *Slesia Superiore*) e cogli Osi (oggi *Cracovia*) al S. coi Pannoni, all'O coi Marcomanni, con cui erano sempre in stretta alleanza, giusta le storiche testimonianze. Sotto l'impero di Tiberio, dal 14 al 37 d. Cr., Maroboduo re de' Marcomanni fu deposto dal trono e perdotto i suoi Stati. Un giovane nobile della tribù de' Gotori, detto Catualda, stato già da lui violentemente espulso, accontossi coi principali del paese, penetrò fino alla residenza del capo barbaro, s'impadronì di tutti i tesori che si erano ammassati con tanti anni di rapine, e costrinse Maroboduo a passare il Danubio ed a chiedere asilo ai Romani. Il fuggitivo venne confinato da Tiberio a Ravenna, dove morì di vecchiezza dopo diciott'anni di dimora. Catualda, suo vincitore, ebbe tantosto la stessa sorte, discacciato alla sua volta da un esercito di Ermunduri condotto da Vibilio, chiese anch'egli asilo a Tiberio, che accolse la sua supplica, e lo spedì a Frejus, colonia della Gallia Narbonense. Coloro poi che avevano parteggiato per i due capi vinti ed espulsi furono collocati al di là del Danubio, tra i fiumi Maro (*Marus*, oggi *Marsch*, *Morava* o *Marosch*) nella

(*inseguiti*) like wild beasts¹⁹⁶ Nor did they refuse to perform military service in the last war for American liberty [the Revolutionary, or the Civil War?]: a proof that the Quakers of today do not carry fanaticism to so great an extreme as their predecessors, and are forced to adapt themselves to circumstances "

Our Italian author concedes that in England the Quakers in general practise a scrupulous integrity and are more moral than the majority of the people They are nevertheless decreasing in number from day to day because, as non-conformists, they are excluded from every career and dignity and because fanaticism, which cannot be maintained from inconsistency, is becoming little by little extinguished The modern Quakers, less ignorant and less stubborn than their predecessors, have at last understood that a contempt for propriety makes virtue ridiculous. They have therefore somewhat modified their outward austerity and the rigidity of their ancestors' manners They have become wealthy since they forsook the country to dwell in cities, and are not able to prevent the contagion of luxury from penetrating among them through alluring examples

The principles of their austere education have become somewhat relaxed, and their young people take pleasure in music, the theater and dancing The Quakeresses have abandoned their black head-dress and green apron (*l'acconciatura nera del capo ed il grembiale verde*), to which their ancestors attached much importance; they have retained, however, the antique cut of their dresses (*vestiario*), but have grafted upon them (*innestandovi*) flowers and feathers to make them more elegant Quakers of mature age adhere rigorously to their broad-brimmed hats (*cappello di larga falda*), and do not wear buckles, buttons, etc., but many of their young people follow the fashions, to which they yield. Although tolerated, they are regarded only as great sinners and as semi-deserters from the society. The orthodox color of their garments is white, gray and brown are tolerated, red is forbidden, to dress in black [mourning?] would be considered an evidence of rank heresy Finally, the Quakers,

¹⁹⁶ Reference here is probably to the "French and Indian War" of 1755-63, which was fought by other than Quaker Pennsylvanians

considered generally, are to be looked upon as well-bred (*morigerate*) persons, humane and peaceable.

With the exception of England and America, Quakerism has not struck deep roots anywhere. In Holland, in Germany, in Prussia, and in France, they did once exist and do still to the present time, but in such comparatively small numbers (*piccole proporzioni*) as not to be worthy of consideration (*non valer la pena d'occuparsene*).

This naive account of the Quakers as seen through Italian eyes is accompanied by the picture of an alleged "first chapel of the Quakers in Philadelphia," which is given for the purpose, the illustrator says, of showing by this "first chapel or temple of the sect how these sectarians observe in their worship simple and austere manners." It is needless to say that the Romanesque structure represented in the picture, if it ever existed anywhere outside of the author's imagination, stood somewhere in sunny Italy, and not in the prosaic streets of the American Quaker City. The portraiture of Quakerism, also, drawn by the pen of the Italian author, would scarcely be recognized as an entirely authentic one of Friends on either side of the Atlantic by William Penn or his followers in any generation.

Another interpretation of Quakerism in Italian art is a painting by Alessandro Magnasco, which hangs in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. Magnasco, called by his contemporaries "Cute little Alexander" (*Il Lissandrino*) and "the Michelangelo of Battles" (*delle Battaglie*), was born in Genoa in 1681, the son of Stefano, a painter of altar-pieces in Rome. Public processions, military exercises and carnival frolics (*bambocciate*) are said to have been Alessandro's forte. His "Quaker Sermon" (*Predica di Quacqueri*) plays up the familiar theme of Quaker women preaching on upturned tubs—in contrast with duly ordained men preaching in awesome pulpits; and it was obviously inspired by the well-known painting of a Quaker meeting by his older contemporary, Egbert Heemskerk of Haarlem and London.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ *Infra*, p. 122 Cf. Monograph Number Four ("Quakerism in Rotterdam")



Magnasco's "Quake! Sermon"

AN EPITOME OF PENN'S LIFE

ANCESTRY, *Paternal* Gloucestershire squires, at Penn's Lodge and Minety,¹⁹⁸ and sea-captains and traders (chiefly with the Barbary States) in Bristol.

Maternal. The Jaspers, an Anglo-Irish family of Ballycase, County Clare, Ireland; perhaps Dutch settlers, naturalized in Ireland.

FATHER: Sir William Penn, Rear Admiral, Vice Admiral and Admiral of England; fought under Cromwell against the Dutch and the Spaniards; captured Jamaica, 1655, imprisoned five weeks in the Tower, exiled to his Irish estates at Macroom, County Cork; helped restore Charles II; Commissioner for the Navy, M. P. for Weymouth, Governor of Kinsale and owner of Shangarry Castle and estate in County Cork.

MOTHER: Margaret, daughter of John Jasper of Ballycase, Ireland, a merchant in the Rotterdam trade, and perhaps a native of Holland and a resident for some time in Rotterdam; widow of Nicasius van der Scure [*Schuren* = Barns], of Kilconry, County Clare; married Captain Wilham Penn, January 1644, at St Martin's Church, Ludgate, London.

BIRTH: October 14, 1644, on Tower Hill, London, baptized in All Hallows Church, Barking.

SCHOOL and TUTORS. Chigwell Grammar (Harsnet's Free) School, near the Penns' country home at Wanstead, Essex, from his — to his twelfth year, thence to Macroom (with his exiled family), under private tutors for five years

1660-1662 OXFORD UNIVERSITY, Christ Church College: a gentleman commoner; religious meetings and Puritanism versus Anglicanism: expelled, his father's displeasure and abuse.

1662-1664 PARIS: gaieties, a duel; *Saumur*, in Anjou. studied the classics, theology and French under Moses Amy-

¹⁹⁸ They may have brought the name of Pen (a Welsh word for highland) from their ancestral home in Wales. William Penn chose "New Wales" as the name for his new province in 1681, but was overruled by Charles II, who called it "Pennsylvania".

rault, professor in a Huguenot college; *Switzerland* and *Italy*: traveled with Robert Spencer, afterwards Earl of Sunderland, and met Spencer's uncle, the exiled Algernon Sidney.

1664-1665 LONDON: Law at Lincoln's Inn; his father with fleet versus the Dutch; the Great Plague, his mysticism and Puritanism versus the debasement of the Restoration Period (cf. John Milton's "Paradise Lost").

1666-1667 IRELAND: Sent to manage his father's Shaggarry estate, and to overcome his religiosity; heard the Quaker preacher, Thomas Loe, in a Friends' meeting at Cork;¹⁹⁹ imprisoned as a Quaker, released as a Cavalier and Admiral's son; recalled to London.

1667-1668 A QUAKER, preacher, missionary, controversialist and author; opposed to *Hat Honour*, disinherited and expelled from home; wrote "Truth Exalted" (an exposition of Quakerism), the first of his 157 publications; religious controversy; "The Sandy Foundation Shaken" (against Trinitarianism), printed without the Bishop of London's license.

1668-1669 THE TOWER: closely confined for eight months, "Innocency with her Open Face" (acknowledging Christ), and "No Cross, No Crown" (the practice of Christianity, the most learned of his writings); reconciled to his father (by his mother's intervention?)

1669-1670 IRELAND: father's estates; Friends' meetings and Quaker prisoners; return to LONDON: arrested for preaching in Gracechurch Street Friends' Meeting House (against the Conventicle Act); TRIAL, WITH WILLIAM MEAD, at the Old Bailey: the rights of juries established ("The Peoples ancient and just Liberties Asserted"), imprisoned in NEWGATE for a month (refused to pay fine for not removing his hat in court); father died, aet. 49 years.

1671 NEWGATE: SIX months' imprisonment for refusing to take the oath of allegiance; travel in HOLLAND and GERMANY. visits to the Quakers and Labadists.

1672 MARRIED Gulielma Maria Springett; home at Basing House, Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire (until 1677, then at

¹⁹⁹ He may have heard Loe twice before first, when a boy, at his father's house at Macroom, again, at Oxford.

Worminghurst, Sussex, until 1697; then in Bristol, and in various parts of London until 1710, then at Ruscombe, Berkshire, where he died eight years later).

1672-1676 DEFENSE OF QUAKERS against bitter persecution, by visits to the king, public debate, numerous pamphlets ("The Christian-Quaker", 1673), founder of Quaker Colonies - a proprietor of West New Jersey, and one of a company (chiefly of Quakers) which purchased East New Jersey (1681). Penn's constitution civil and religious liberty, many Quaker colonists fleeing from persecution (Burlington their center).

1677 VISIT to HOLLAND and GERMANY. Organization of the Society of Friends on the Continent, Princess Elizabeth of the Palatinate and the Countess of Hoorn very sympathetic, but they do not become Friends; seed-sowing for Dutch and German emigration to Pennsylvania.

1678-1681 Champions TOLERATION of Quakers and other Nonconformists against Anglican persecution, but fails to achieve toleration in England hundreds of Friends dying in prison, thousands despoiled of their property and freedom. Penn turns to the New World for a Holy Experiment

1681 CHARTER FOR PENNSYLVANIA, its "Fundamental Constitution".

1682-1684 IN PENNSYLVANIA and DELAWARE; "Farewell Letter to his Wife and Children"; "Frame of Government": popular government and religious toleration, the Welcome in New Castle, Chester, PHILADELPHIA, justice and friendship with INDIANS - DISARMAMENT, the first Assembly at Chester, and drafting of the "Great Law"; advertising the colony in Europe for settlers; its rapid growth, peace and prosperity

1685-1688 TOLERATION for Friends and liberation of 1,300 of them from prison, but accusations of *Jesuitism* against Penn, the friend of James II (Lord Macaulay's charges), to HOLLAND and GERMANY, to persuade William of Orange against the Test Act, and to preach Quakerism and Pennsylvania colonization (1686); land dispute with *Lord Baltimore* settled in Penn's favor.

1689-1693 ACT OF TOLERATION, *internment of Penn* under William III (Penn accused of *Jacobitism*); Penn's four

years' retirement; *Pennsylvania annexed* by the Crown (1692); political and religious dissensions (George Keith's schism) in Pennsylvania; Penn wrote "A Key opening the Way", an "Essay TOWARDS THE PRESENT AND FUTURE PEACE OF EUROPE" (forerunner of the American Union, the Hague Conferences and the League of Nations), and "Some Fruits of Solitude in Reflections and Maxims".

1694 *Death of Gulielma Penn* (February); Penn *exonerated of treason* and *Pennsylvania restored* to him; "Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers".

1695-1698 Married to *Hannah Callowhill* (1696); death of his eldest son, *Springett*; *preaches Quakerism* through England and Ireland.

1699-1701 Second visit to PENNSYLVANIA; "Fruits of a Father's Love" (a farewell to his children); a three months' voyage on *The Canterbury*, lived in the Slateroof House, Philadelphia, and Pennsbury Manor, Bucks County; charity, religion, politics.

1701-1712 ENGLAND'S MILITARY STRUGGLE against Louis XIV's imperialism involves *Pennsylvania*, efforts to buy out the Quaker proprietorship for the Crown; the Fords' lawsuit to foreclose a mortgage on Pennsylvania; Penn imprisoned in THE FLEET as a debtor (January to December, 1708).

1712-1718 *Paralysis* leaves Penn increasingly helpless, but cheerful and happy; DIED at Ruscombe, Berkshire, July 30, 1718; buried at JORDANS MEETING-HOUSE near Chalfont St. Giles, Buckinghamshire.

FAMILY: *1st wife* = Gulielma Maria Springett (died 1694); three sons and four daughters, all of whom died unmarried, except Letitia (who married William Aubrey of London, but left no descendants) and William (ancestors of the Penn-Gaskills of Ireland and Philadelphia).

2nd wife = Hannah Callowhill (died 1726); three daughters (two died unmarried, Margaret who married Thomas Freame and had descendants) and four sons. John ("The American"; born in the Slate-Roof House, Philadelphia, 1700; died, unmarried, 1746), Thomas (of Stoke Poges; married Lady Juliana Fermor and had numerous descendants; died 1775), Richard (died 1771; father of John, the

last Penn governor at the time of the American Revolution), and Dennis (died without issue, 1723).

The proprietary rights of the Penns in Pennsylvania were commuted by the Legislature in 1779 for a payment of £130,000, and the British Committee on Claims recommended to Parliament an additional payment to the heirs of £500,000, instead of the £944,817,8s 6d claimed by them

GREATNESS · an eminent *Author*, a *Founder* of Quakerism, of religious toleration, of religious liberty, of democracy, of inter-racial justice, of international peace, of a great American commonwealth

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